The Standardization of Inuktut in the Education System in Nunavut

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Abstract

This thesis describes the issues and various efforts involved in the standardization of Inuktut in Nunavut. It provides a background, history and literature review related to standardization of the language, as well as an autoethnographic account of my own teaching and promotion of Inuktut. In addition, Inuktut-speaking teachers across Nunavut were invited to participate by responding to a questionnaire designed to investigate the attitudes of the teachers towards dialectal differences and language standardization in Nunavut. The research serves as a resource to promote understanding and awareness of the major dialects in Nunavut as well as provide considerations about which dialect might be most appropriate and readily accepted by Inuit teachers as 'the dialect of instruction' in the future. The survey results provide important information for Inuit Uqausinginnik Taiguusiliuqtiit, the Inuit Language Authority in Nunavut, with a mandate to consider standardization of Inuktut writing for the Territory. The research also has implications for the Government of Nunavut, and particularly for the Curriculum and School Services Division of the Department of Education and for in-service professional learning for current teachers of Inuktut. In addition the Nunavut Teacher Education Program and Nunavut Arctic College may find the research useful in their Inuktut programs. All these agencies have a stake in the successful implementation of new standards for Inuktut to ensure it is effectively taught to students at all levels across Nunavut. The National Strategy on Inuit Education (2011) led by the Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami includes the standardization of Inuktut as a priority across the four Inuit regions in Canada and the results may benefit efforts to implement the National Strategy.

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I would also like to thank Trudy Pettigrew and the Department of Education in Nunavut for their support with my research. And a huge thank you to Fiona Walton and Shelley Tulloch for the timeless efforts they put into supporting me in my journey.

I write this paper in memory of Jose Amaujaq Kusugak as he was very passionate about Inuit language issues and was always a very strong advocate for the continued use and the survival of the language. Along with my late father, Japeth Palluq, Jose was my great role model and instilled in me the strong desire to understand and work on Inuit language dialects and issues.

I dedicate this thesis to my *Arnavikuluk*, my Aunt Leah Aksaajuq Otak who was my teacher, my guide and my mentor, 1950-2014.

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The Standardization of Inuktut in the Education System in Nunavut

Much work and discussions have gone into the standardization of Inuktut[1] in Nunavut, particularly with respect to the writing systems. However, now that Nunavummiut have achieved self-determination following the creation of the Territory, more research and leadership are required to further expand the use and teaching of our language in our schools, by fully implementing bilingual education from kindergarten to grade 12, and ensuring teachers have adequate teaching materials to do their job. Standardization of Inuktut can help achieve this goal.

While Inuktut and its dialects have been well documented and studied, there is no research that outlines what the attitudes are of teachers regarding language variations, and what they think about standardization. This thesis thus asks these questions:

1. What are Inuit teachers' perceptions and attitudes toward dialects and language standardization in Nunavut?
2. Which dialect or a compromise of dialects would be best accepted as the standard written language in Nunavut?

In addressing these questions, this thesis seeks to contribute to the process of making informed decisions related to the standardization of Inuktut within the educational system in Nunavut and specifically in the school system. It is hoped that it may also contribute to future debate on standardization at the territorial level, including at the national and international levels.

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[1] Throughout this paper I use the term Inuktut to refer to Inuktitut and Inuinnaqtun as suggested by a Member of the Legislative Assembly in Nunavut, Joe Allen Evyagotailak, in 2007.

In the thesis, Chapter One reviews the history of Inuktut as a language to date, including dialectal differences between regions and communities and the different writing systems that are currently used. It also provides a literature review of the main considerations used in determining a standard variety of a language and two examples of standardization in other contexts.

An autoethnograpy is provided in Chapter Two as part of the research to explain my motivation and purpose as an emerging Inuk researcher with a passion for Inuktut that has developed since I was a young child and led me through a career that has Inuit language issues and promotion at its core. These personal experiences and the understanding I gained about our language and the different dialects led me to want to further understand if and how we as Inuit can work collaboratively in ensuring our language not only survives but also thrives in our future.

Chapter Three explains the methodology and methods that guided the research. It describes the geographic and linguistic context as well as the demographics related to the population of the Inuktut language teachers in Nunavut. The survey design is described as well as the involvement of the Nunavut Department of Education in supporting efforts to encourage the participation of teachers. The difficulties encountered in efforts to ensure participation are documented, problematized and summarized.

Chapter Four provides a description, analysis and interpretation of the survey results. It includes a brief summary of the implications of the results of each of the questions to enable the reader to consider how they impact the questions related to standardization. I analyze and explore the attitudes of the teachers related to dialectal differences as they emerge in the responses to questions in order to determine which

dialect, if any, might be most easily accepted as the language of instruction. As teachers work with materials written in different dialects I seek to understand their attitudes toward their own and other dialects they use in their teaching materials. The answers provided by the teachers have implications for the Department of Education, particularly the curriculum development division that currently makes teaching materials in whichever dialect the authors provide the text, making teaching materials in different dialects available to the teachers in Nunavut as opposed to materials being developed in a coherent standard.

Finally, Chapter Five provides a conclusion to the thesis by drawing together the survey results, the literature review and some considerations based on the author's experience as a teacher of Inuktut at several levels in the educational system. It acknowledges the complexity of the issues related to standardization and the attachment of teachers to syllabics. It also outlines some possible directions that might be considered as the questions related to standardization are addressed in Nunavut and across all the Inuit regions in Canada. These considerations aim to support revitalization and strengthening of Inuktut.

CHAPTER ONE

Background, History of Standardization and Literature Review

Different Spoken Dialects

The circumpolar world.

Figure 1. Inuit regions around the circumpolar world

Inuktut is a member of the Eskimo-Aleut language family, which includes Aleut, Inuit-Inupiaq, Central Alaskan Yup'ik, Siberian Yupik and Sireniski. There are approximately 167,000 Inuit living today across the landmass that covers Siberia, Alaska, Canada and Greenland. The number of Inuit-Inupiaq speakers, which includes speakers of Inupiaq in Alaska, Inuktut in Canada, and Kalaallisut in Greenland, represents just over 100,000 people (Dorais, 2010; MacLean, 2010). Although changes have occurred in this language in the different countries and regions over the centuries, for example in terms of phonology, morphology and vocabulary, the level of inter-intelligibility among the variants of Inuktut across Inuit Nunaat still remains strong

because there is a high enough level of phonemic, grammatical, and lexical similarities between dialects and regions (Dorais, 2010).

In Canada, the Territory of Nunavut. Nunavut is administratively divided into three regions today, Qitirmiut, Kivalliq and Baffin. Linguists generally recognize seven major dialectal groups in the Territory; Qitirmiut, Natsilingmiut, Kivallirmiut, Aivilingmiut, Quttikturmiut, Uqqurmiut and Sanikiluarmiut. Within these dialectal groups there are several sub-dialects (Dorais, 2010).

Figure 2. Dialectal groups in Nunavut

Inuit are able to comprehend different dialects spoken, albeit with more difficulty in some areas than others. For instance, Sanikiluaq speakers might have more difficulty understanding Qitirmiut dialects than those closer to it, and in like fashion, Qitirmiut speakers would also struggle to understand Sanikiluaq speakers. Some of these difficulties arise out of the loss of consonant cluster combinations that has occurred over the years in less conservative dialects. The Inuktut word for home is *angi**lr**aq* in Qitirmiut and *angi**rr**aq* in Baffin. Some differences also appear in vocabulary. The Inuktut word for 'work' is *havaktuq* in Qitirmiut, *pilirijuq* in Kivalliq, *sanajuq* and

iqqanaijaqtuq in Baffin and *pinasuaqtuq* in Sanikiluaq. Some of the differences also occur in the way in which the dialects are spoken, for example in prosody, or the speed, stress and tone used when Inuit from different dialects speak. In fact, despite the traceable and predicted systematic changes driven by the natural evolution of language in the past, some of these differences and difficulties appear to have been accelerated by the patchwork of colonization in each region.

In Nunavut the Qitirmiut dialect is more conservative in its use of different consonants in which all of the 34 possible consonant combinations are used, with the exception of /ts/and /kɬ/. They use /qh/ in place of /qɬ/. *Nukaqɬiq* (younger) in Kivalliq and North Baffin is *nukaqhiq* in Qitirmiut. Kivallirmiut are very similar to Qitirmiut with consonant usage, the consonant combinations they do not use are /ts/, /lv/, /lg/ and /nm/. Generally in the Inuit language three vowels or three consonants combinations in a row are not allowed. In the Qitirmiut dialect we see a three consonant combination in the word *inrngutaq* (grandchild) (/n/ + /R/ + /ŋ/). (The graphic /ng/ is considered one consonant as it represents one sound, a palatal nasal.) Kivallirmiut also have three consonant combinations such as in the word *imrngusiq* (cup). Some linguists interpret these words as having only two consonants, /n/ + /R/, with the following ‘ng’ letters showing nasalization of the /R/ following the nasal /n/ or /m/. However, I hear these words as three distinct consonants, contrasting with the single consonant /ng/ in *ingutaq* (something being stirred) and the double consonant /R/ + /ŋ/ in *irngutaq* (N. Baffin grandchild).

North Baffin dialect uses 15 consonant combinations while South Baffin and Sanikiluaq dialects use only eight with most consonant clusters assimilated to follow the second consonant. The consonant combinations favored by South Baffin dialects are

used by all dialects; /qp/, /qt/, /qs/, /rv/, /rl/, /rj/ and /nng/ with the exception of /ts/. Also not included in the list is the use of /f/ in the Qitirmiut. It is used in words like *piffi* which derives from *piphi* (dried fish), also written *pipsi, pissi* and *pitsi* in the other regions.

Consonant usages. The following table presents the differences in consonant cluster usages from the west to east (Greenland is included as a point of comparison).

	Qitirmiut	**Kivalliq**	**N.Baffin**	**S.Baffin**	**Sanikiluaq**	**Kalaalliit**
pt	niptaittuq	iliptik				
pk	kipkaq	nipku				
pq	ulapqijuq	apqut				
ps(h)	iliphi	qapsinik/qaphinik				
tp	qanuritpit	qanuitpa				
tk	ilagijatka	utkusiq				
tq	tatqiq	arnatquaksaaq				
ts				natsiq	atsunai	aatsaat
kp	havakpit	akpa	ikpiarjuk			
kt	qitiguhuktuq	ijurusuktuq	tissigusuktuq			
ks	ikhivajuq	iksivajuq	iksivaaqtuq			
kł		akłunaaq	angajukłiqpaaq			
qp	muqpauyaq	uiqaqpit	nuliaqaqpit	kingulliqpaaq	qailiqpa	isirpuq
qt	qurluqtuq	itiqtuq	Isiqtuq	uqaqtuq	saniqtuq	oqartuq
qs/h	qaqhauq	uqsuq	tammaqsimajuq	isiqsimajuq	aqsaq	arsaq
qł/h	nukaqhiq	nukaqłiq	ikiaqłiq			amerłasut
vg	avguijuq					
vj	ivjajuq	ivjujuq				
lg	algaut					
lr	angilraujuq	alraagu				
lv	talva					

gv	havagvik	allagvik	sagvik			
gl	niglaqtuq	igluinnaq	iglulik			
gj/y	qimugyuk	kakiagjuaq	qimugjuk			
rv	arnarvik	uviningniarvik	tuksiarvik	niuvirvik	arvik	anartarvik
rl	niaqurliuqtuq	alurluijaut	qitirluktuq	qimirluk	nirliq	aarluk
rj/y	qaryut	iglurjuaq	iiraarjuk	nirjutit	umiarjuaq	
rm	irmiut	irmiktuq	sirmik			
rn	qirnangajuq	irniq	singirniq			
rng	in'rngutaq	irngutaq	irngusiq			
mn	imnaq	uvamnit				
mng	paamnguliaq	imngiqtuq				
nm	qinmiq					
nng	humunngaqqat	piqhinngittuq	uqalugviginnga	sanannguagaq	pinnguatuq	

Figure 3. Consonant clusters, by dialectal groups

In addition to dialectical differences in spoken language, Nunavut has a dual writing system. Syllabics are used by Nattilik, Kivalliq, North and South Baffin including Sanikiluaq whereas the Latin script, also referred to as roman orthography, is used by Western Qitirmiut. The Latin script is written differently between Qitirmiut, where syllabics are not used and the other regions of Nunavut where syllabics may be transliterated into the Latin script. This is because the Qitirmiut opted not to follow the Inuit Cultural Institute (ICI) standard writing system. In 1976, ICI approved a standardized writing system for the Inuit language that could be used in both syllabics and the Latin script (Inuit Cultural Institute, 1976). The writing system was reformed to include new symbols that were not represented and also to introduce spelling and

grammar rules that were previously not identified. This reform is further explained in the section Inuit Involvement in the Writing Systems, below.

In 1973, around the time when the Canadian Inuit in Nunavut were going through an orthography reform and introducing the ICI standard orthography, Greenlandic Inuit were also going through an orthography reform, "In fact, the new Greenlandic orthography drew heavily on the work Gagné had done in Canada" (Harper, 1983b, p. 71). The following chart developed by Raymond Gagné was adapted by the Greenlandic Inuit with the exception that they opted not to use the 'rq' as suggested by Gagné and chose to use 'qq'.

Peck	**Gagné**
vg, kg, gg	gg
tj, kj, gj, vj, pj, dj, bj	jj
tg, pk, kk, ck, bk	kk
ll, kl, vl, gl, dl, bl	ll
mm, ngm	mm
ngn, nn, nn	nn
?	nng
pp, kp, kb, mp, bp, bb	pp
rkj, rgy, rgy	rj
rl, rkl, rdl	rl
rm	rm
rn	rn
rpk, rkp	rp
rr, rvg, rg, rch, ch, vtr	rq
rt, rkt	rt
rv, chv	rv

ps, ksh, ks, gs, fs, ss. vs, ts, ds, bs	ss
tt, pt, kt, gt	tt
pv, gv, kv, bv	vv

Figure 4. Peck's (1997) 73 consonant clusters vs. Gagné's (1962) 20 consonant clusters

Consonant gemination has not progressed quite as far in the South Baffin or in the Nunavik dialects as in western Greenlandic where they have kept only eight of the thirty-three possible consonant clusters. While South Baffin has dropped the use of most of the consonant clusters, they also have dropped certain allomorphic forms of post-bases. Of the four possible allomorphic forms, starting with [j], [g], [t], and [R] (patterning with bases ending in vowels, 'k', 't', and 'q', respectively), South Baffin has dropped the use of the 't' allomorph and the Nunavik dialect is using only the [g] and [R] forms. The following table explains the change in these dialects.

	-vowel endings	k endings	t endings	q endings
North Baffin	ani- (go out) anijumajunga	pisuk – (walk) pisugumajunga	tikit- (arrive) tikittumajunga	isiq- (enter) isirumajunga
South Baffin	ani- (go out) anijumajunga	pisuk – (walk) pisugumajunga	tikit- (arrive) tikigumajunga	isiq- (enter) isirumajunga
Nunavik	ani- (go out) anigumajunga	pisuk – (walk) pisugumajunga	tikit- (arrive) tikigumajunga	isiq- (enter) isirumajunga

Figure 5. Verb endings and post-bases

This table illustrates that the South Baffin dialect has dropped the '*-tuma-*' form matching bases ending with /t/ and replaced it with the form which previously only patterned with bases ending in /k/, '*-guma-*'. The Nunavik dialect now uses the *–guma-* form with all bases except those ending in 'q'. These examples show how one dialect may differ from another.

Dialectal differences and similarities. Tusaalanga.ca, a web site developed by Pirurvik Center, a privately owned business dedicated to Inuit Language Culture and Wellbeing in Iqaluit, provides 1270 terms and phrases from English to Inuktut in five major dialects in Nunavut; West Qitirmiut, East Qitirmiut, Kivalliq, North Baffin and South Baffin (Pirurvik Center, 2011). Out of the 1270 terms and phrases, 416 are exactly the same across all dialects, 252 have differences only in consonant use, for example Inuktut terms for 'you' are ilvit, itvit, ivvit. The terms and phrases that are exactly or almost exactly the same make up 52.6% of the total list. There are 215 that are the same for two of the regions and said differently in the other two regions. For example, sinigvik is used in both Qitirmiut and Kivalliq for bedroom and iglurusiq is used in North and South Baffin. This makes up 16.9% of the terms and phrases that are the same in the west of Nunavut and said differently in the east. There are 311 (24.5%) terms and phrases which are the same for all regions but one; for example from Kivalliq to South Baffin the translation for camera is ajjiliurut but for Qitirmiut it is piksaliut. Of the list that are different from the rest of the regions 67.2% are Qitirmiut terms, 23.2% Kivalliq, 7.0% North Baffin and 2.6% South Baffin.

Although speakers of different dialects may perceive differences large enough that interdialectal communication may be difficult, only 2.8% of the 1270 terms and phrases were completely different across all dialects. It should be noted that of the 35 that were completely different, 12 were different phrases of the same word for 'working', bringing the complete differences down to 24 or 1.8% of the total list. Another dialectal difference we see is the result of words borrowed from English such as names of the days, months and numbers, which make up 3.2% of the list (tusaalanga.ca).

Edna MacLean discussed the similarities and differences between dialects of Alaska, Canada and Greenland and the writing systems in her presentation, *Thoughts on a Common Writing System,* during the Nunavut Language Summit in Iqaluit in February 2010 (Nunavut Department of Culture, Language, Elders and Youth, 2010). In her presentation she spoke about the way that some identical sounds are represented with different symbols thus creating differences in writing. In Alaska, the sound /ʁ/ is written with a dotted g, (ġ) a symbol not used in any other Inuit regions. An example of the use of the dotted g appears in the word *ilisaġvik* (school), written as *ilisarvik* in both Canada and Greenland. They also use the symbol 'ŋ' where Canadian roman orthography uses 'ng'. The Inuktut word for wave is *iŋiulik* in Alaska and *ingiulik* in Canada and Greenland. In Alaska they also have a distinctive palatal nasal /ɲ/ which they write 'ñ' as in the word *Iñupiaq*. This sound is similar to that used in the Spanish language for *niño* (boy) and *niña* (girl) and is not used in any of the other Inuit regions. Some differences we also see occur in the use of other consonants. The Inuktut word for kayak is written as *qayaq* in Alaska and *qajaq* in Canada and Greenland. The word eye is slightly different in all regions; *iri* (Alaska), *iji* (Canada) and *isi* (Greenland). Note that the word *iri* for eye in Alaskan is very similar to the pronunciation of *iji* with a more fricative sound. This same sound is written with a capped 'r' in Eastern Qitirmiut in Canada, *iři*.

MacLean (1979) wrote about the idea that each region, while keeping its traditional writing system, could use an auxiliary system for cross-regional communication. As she wrote four decades ago, to achieve this each region would require the willingness to compromise and make slight changes in the current writing systems as well as the determination to succeed. Lawrence Kaplan (2005), also of

Alaska, supported the need to have a common Inuit writing system to improve international Inuit relations by sharing published literature and school materials.

The History of Writing Systems

Lenore Grenoble and Lindsay J. Whaley (2006) suggest that the majority of endangered languages come from oral cultures. Wurm (1991) also notes that languages without a writing system are more likely to disappear than written languages. This accentuates the importance of a writing system for the survival of the Inuit language. To ensure the survival of their language, Inuit need to consider their linguistic history and make a collective decision about how to move forward. One issue that needs to be addressed is the attitudes Inuit have about the dialectal differences in the language and how a standard writing system can favor linguistic survival. The introduction of writing systems to Inuit varied from region to region as a result of colonization and contact mainly with missionaries, but also with respect to the influence of government officials, Inuit and non-Inuit linguists, and others with strong views about the language.

The history of the writing system in Nunavut is relatively young, making it possible to track the history and the changes that have occurred. It should be noted that Inuit within Canada do not all use a common writing system. Inuit in the Northwest Territories, Nunavik and Labrador have different histories and use slightly different writing styles. Our fellow Inuit in Alaska and Greenland have a much longer history of colonization, and their writing systems are accordingly quite different from those used in Canada.

Introduction of writing systems by missionaries. Inuit writing systems were introduced at different times from Alaska to Greenland by the missionaries wanting to convert Inuit to Christianity. It is not surprising that colonization has impacted not only

the continuity of Inuit society, but also its language and culture across the Arctic (Dorais, 2010). The lack of a uniform way of writing the Inuit language is an indication of this non-uniform, historical process of colonization. For instance, the fact that the Inuit language is spread and divided between different nations and political units, reached and colonized by different peoples at different times, explains why there is no uniform way today of writing the Inuit language across the circumpolar world. Syllabics are used in most Nunavut and Nunavik communities, while various Latin-based alphabets are used in the western part of Nunavut, Northwest Territories, Nunatsiavut, Alaska, and Greenland (Dorais, 2010; Harper, 1983a).

For *Inuktitut* magazine, Kenn Harper (1983a) contributed a historical perspective on writing in Inuktitut. He noted that Inuit throughout the North did not have traditional writing systems and no attempts were made to develop writing until contacts with the missionaries, with the exception of Alaskan Inuit who attempted to develop their own picture-writing systems in the early 1900's. Writing was introduced through the missionaries at different times to the different regions of Inuit in the North with varying writing systems and rules. The earliest introduction to the written language was to the Greenlandic Inuit in the 1700's by the Lutheran and Moravian missionaries. Paul Egede, son of Hans Egede who was the first missionary in Greenland, published a Greenlandic dictionary in 1751. He was possibly the first person to record first-hand observations of Inuit in Greenland (Olsen, 2011). The missionaries traveled to Labrador in the late 1700's where the writing introduced was similar to that developed for Greenland (Harper, 1983a).

Labrador Inuit were the first Canadian Inuit to have a written form introduced to them by the Moravian missionaries, with the first mission opening in Nain as early as

1771. In 1791 the first school was opened and the only language of instruction was Inuktut (Dorais, 1993). Their writing system was similar to that of Greenland until writing reforms happened in 1973 in Greenland and in the 1990's for Labrador, at which time the writing systems were revised in divergent ways. The slight differences can be seen in Labrador's use of the capital 'K' for the /q/ sound used in Greenland and other Inuit regions. Even when the /q/ appears in the middle of a word 'K' is used as in *AjoKittuijingit* for *ajuqiqtuijingit*. Another difference in writing appears with the use of the long vowels. In all other Inuit regions the long vowels are written as double vowels 'ii', 'uu' and 'aa' but in Labrador the letter /e/ is used for /ii/ and /o/ is used for /uu/ and /â/ is used for /aa/. We see examples of these in words like *nulettuk* for *nuliittuq* (bachelor), *Kalotik* for *qaluutik* (bailer) and *aunâttuk* for *aunaaqtuq* (is beading).

In the 1800's two different types of writing systems were introduced to the Inuit of Nunavut. In the western Arctic, roman characters were used and in the eastern Arctic, syllabics. John Horden and E. A Watkins, two missionaries from England, adapted the Cree syllabics to suit the Inuit language. After struggling to devise a means of recording accurately the sound of the native Ojibway speech in the Roman alphabet, Reverend James Evans adapted the Pitman shorthand writing system, which grandfathered most Canadian Aboriginal language syllabic writing systems in use today. Edmund Peck is usually credited with introducing syllabics to the Inuit because he translated biblical material into Inuktitut and spent much time in some parts of Nunavik and at Blacklead Island in the Cumberland Sound (Harper, 1983a).

Most non-Inuit missionaries who introduced writing systems to Inuit were not trained linguists. These old writing systems needed much improvement because some characters did not properly represent the sounds of the Inuit language. In the 1970's,

orthography reforms took place in all Inuit regions, from Alaska to Greenland, including in Canada.

Inuit involvement in the writing systems. Literary traditions in Greenland were well established over a hundred years ago, but in 1973, after more than fifty years of debate on reforming the Kleinschmidt writing system, Greenlanders settled on an orthography that was legally binding, choosing west Greenlandic as the written standard (Olsen, 2011) and making Greenland the only Inuit region with a standard written language that also has a rich literary tradition.

Standard Greenlandic is used primarily in writing for formal functions, such as education, government communications and drafting and interpretation of laws. It is a general misconception that Standard Greenlandic has eradicated the use of spoken dialects in Greenland. Carl Christian Olsen, *Puju*, an Inuk language scholar who has studied developments over the past forty years affirms that dialects in Greenland, just like in Nunavut, play an important role in local and regional identities (C. Olsen, personal communication, January 12, 2012). According to Olsen, the standard Greenlandic language is best seen as a communication tool for Greenlanders in order to efficiently share written information and knowledge between communities and regions, and support the unity of their people while adapting to a modern life style.

In Alaska, Inupiaq and the related Yugtun went through writing reforms at different times. In 1947 a North Slope Inupiaq, Roy Ahmaogak, worked with a linguist, Eugene Nida, to develop the modern Inupiaq orthography (Kaplan, 1990). This modern orthography is still in use today in a somewhat revised form. Even after the reform where Inupiat were involved in revising the old writing system, Inupiaq orthography differs quite seriously from other Inuit languages in the use of some symbols.

The current Yup'ik writing system was developed in the 1960's by Irene Reed. This work later led to Alaska's first school bilingual programs in the early 1970s when Irene Reed, Osahito Miyaoka, Michael Krauss, Paschal Afca, Martha Teeluk, and Elsie Mather worked together on Yugtun at the University of Alaska Fairbanks (Kaplan, 1990).

As previously stated, in 1976 ICI developed a standardized dual writing system, in syllabics and in roman orthography for Nunavut, each form mirroring the other so they are easily convertible. The new writing system introduced symbols for sounds not previously represented in the old syllabic writing system. The reform also included 'finals' or diacritics so each letter would represent one sound in the Inuit language. During the reform, linguists and language professionals also put together spelling rules to reflect that voiced consonants may only be paired with other voiced consonants and voiceless consonants may only be paired with other voiceless consonants. Using the following phonological table, if a base ending in a /k/ as in *Iglulik* is followed by –mi (in), the velar /k/ becomes velar /ŋ/ *Iglulingmi* and not *Iglulikmi* because voiceless /k/ cannot be paired with voiced /m/.

	Labial	Alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Uvular
Voiceless stop	p	t		k	q
Voiceless continuant		s/ɬ			
Voiced continuant	v	l	j	g	R
Voiced nasal	m	n		ŋ	

Figure 6. Inuktut phonology table

Similarly if a verb ending in /q/ as in *isiq-* (to enter) is followed by *–mat* (because he) the uvular /q/ becomes uvular /r/ *isirmat* because voiceless /q/ cannot be paired with a voiced /m/.

Today, Inuktut in Nunavut is written using the ICI standard writing system in all but the Qitirmiut dialects. Other Inuit regions in Canada only partly use the ICI standard (Nunavik) or not at all (Nunatsiavut, Nunakput). Despite calls from some individuals in Nunavut for changes and reform (Bell, 2010a; Bell, 2010b), the ICI standard system is widely used today by Nunavut teachers and translators and has been taught since the late 1970s to students in most Nunavut communities. It is well established in government publications, school materials and books for children and adults.

In 1976, the ICI Inuit Language Commission recommended that, "this dual system of writing should be reviewed after five or ten years of use to measure its effectiveness and make revisions where necessary" (Harper 2011). This planned review never took place. Today, very little information or research data is available on the use of either writing systems in Nunavut. Generally speaking, there have been a few assumptions that syllabics is holding Inuit back, but these arguments are usually met with an outcry of support for the retention of syllabics (Harper 2011). Regardless of the arguments, they usually end up leading to passionate debates among Inuit.

Some academic research has been initiated by such people as Aurélie Hot who conducted research on syllabic literacy practices in the capital of Nunavut (Iqaluit) and a smaller community (Igloolik) for her Ph.D. dissertation (2010). She found that apart from elders and specialized language professionals, such as teachers and translators, the number of people fluent enough to use syllabics on a daily basis is rather small. Many bilingual Inuit interviewed stated that they prefer to write and read in English rather than

in Inuktut. The lack of fluency in syllabics was mentioned as part of the reason for this, but the prominence of English in the workplace was also cited. These factors represent particularly important obstacles to increasing the use of Inuktut as a language of work.

In her dissertation, Hot pointed out that with the prevalence of social media, youth in particular end up writing in English, but when they write in Inuktut they do so in roman orthography. She concluded that although the visibility and symbolic value of syllabics have increased since the creation of Nunavut, this has not translated into real functionality or daily use. In other words, Inuktut literacy has become a secondary literacy for many Inuit, while English dominates many aspects of people's lives today, particularly in the workplace.

To change this situation, Hot recommended increasing learning opportunities for adults by creating more reading materials in Inuktut, and fully supporting the implementation of bilingual education in higher grades. She further suggests that it might be relevant for Nunavummiut to "discuss [the] appropriateness to legitimize writing in Roman orthography for Inuktitut speakers" (Hot, 2009, p. 2), particularly among young people.

In the Qitirmiut region, roman orthography is used with some variation from the ICI writing system that the Government of Nunavut has committed to implement in all government communications to the public. Unlike the rules established in the ICI writing system, which do not allow for 'm' or 'n' to be written in word-final position, Qitirmiut uses word-final 'n's and 'm's in words such as *tamainnin* (both of them) and *Nunavutim* (Nunavut's). These two words end with 'k' and 'p' using the ICI standard, *tamainnik* and *Nunavutip*. The word-final 'n' and 'm' in Qitirmiut writing mark phonemic and grammatical distinctions. For example, *iglut* (many houses) is written

complying with the ICI standard, while *iglun* (your house) has a non-ICI standard ending, representing its actual pronunciation and marking the difference in meaning. In Eastern Nunavut these words though having different meanings are written the same way, *iglut* (many houses) and *iglut* (your house). In the Qitirmiut, ‘y’’s, ‘d’’s and ‘f’’s are also used. The ‘y’ is used in place of the single ‘j’ as in *iyi* (eye) and not *iji*, which are pronounced almost identically; likewise in the Qitirmiut “all of you” is written *tamaffi* instead of *tamaphi* (although the pronunciation remains the same). The roman orthography used in the Kivalliq and the Baffin regions is in compliance with ICI rules that only allow words to end with a vowel, ‘p’, ‘t’, ‘k’, or ‘q’. Also, ‘j’ is used in both single and double use as in *iji* (eye) and *ajji* (same).

At the time Nunavut started using the ICI standard writing system some young Labrador Inuit suggested that Labrador Inuktut adopt the ICI roman version. Although the suggestion was received well at first, the more conservative use of the Moravian writing system was preferred in the end and the Labrador Inuit Association opted to make the traditional Moravian writing system the standard (Dorais, 1993). To date remnants of the old writing system are used, with the symbols ‘K’, ‘â’, ‘e’ and ‘o’. The Nunatsiavut Inuit Standardized Spelling System (revised in the 1990’s) is half way between the Moravian and ICI standard orthographies.

Recent Calls for Standardization

The Government of Nunavut adopted the *Official Languages Act* and the *Inuit Language Protection Act* in 2008. The new Nunavut *Official Languages Act* came into force on April 1, 2013. The Act now recognizes Inuktut, English and French as Nunavut’s three official languages, with equality of status and enjoying equal rights and

privileges under the law. Raising Inuktut to equal status with English and French is unprecedented for any other aboriginal language in Canada (Braen, 2009).

The *Inuit Language Protection Act* goes a step further by guaranteeing that Inuktut will be strengthened at the center of education, work and the day-to-day services provided to Nunavummiut, making the need for standardization of Inuktut a high priority. The Act also mandates the use of Inuktut in early childhood and adult education programs and services, and requires special measures to address the need for language promotion and revitalization, particularly in communities and age groups where there are concerns about language loss.

There are several actions that the Government must take to protect and promote the use of Inuktut. One of the key elements is standardization of the language, including terminology, orthography and the establishment of other language standards. This was identified as important in order to support quality education in Inuktut, enable employees to perform their duties effectively, and for government and businesses to provide services that are easily understood by everyone regardless of the region they are from or the dialect they speak. For this purpose, the Government of Nunavut has established the *Inuit Uqausinginnik Taiguusiliuqtiit*, the Inuit Language Authority, as an independent public agency to consider and make decisions with respect to the development, use and standardization of Inuktut in all areas covered under the legislation.

History of Inuktut Standardization

The issue of standardizing Inuktut is not new. Discussions on this topic go back approximately forty years. At that time the Canadian government called for a unified writing system to distribute materials to all Inuit across Canada. They called on linguists

Lefebvre and Gagné to design a writing system based on roman orthography (Lefebvre, 1957; Gagne, 1962). Many Inuit did not accept this because they were unwilling to abandon syllabics. At that time, letting go of syllabics was seen as trying to change the words of God by some Elders since the Bible was their only reading material (Harper, 1983a).

Prior to the establishment of the Government of Nunavut, the issue of standardization was discussed at a language policy conference held in 1998 by the Nunavut Implementation Commission (NIC). Out of fifty recommendations made at the conference, nine dealt directly with orthography and standardization (NIC, 1998). The issue was found to be so delicate and emotional for many Inuit that it was too hard to reach a resolution of the issue at that time (Bell, 2002). NIC, therefore, recommended that before any decision was made with respect to which writing system or dialect would be used as the standard in the future, the government should have thorough consultations with Nunavummiut, including elders, but also with young people "because they are the ones who will have to use and teach these systems and deal with the future implications" (NIC, 1998, p. 25).

More than thirty years after adopting the dual writing system, over ten years after providing language policy directions to the new territorial government, and having finally passed new territorial language laws in 2008, recent discussions have taken place with experts and community leaders at various meetings on standardization, including at Inuit Circumpolar Conference meetings, meetings of Inuit Uqausinginnik Taiguusiliuqtiit and events organized by the Nunavut Department of Culture Language Elders and Youth (2009, 2010). People and organizations are becoming more familiar

with the need for standardization, and the concept has never been more supported than it is now (Bell, 2010b, 2011).

Some Members of the Legislative Assembly have also called on the Government of Nunavut to develop options and a plan to implement one writing system in Nunavut, and possibly establish one standardized dialect as the written norm (Legislative Assembly of Nunavut, 2010). Then Member of the Legislative Assembly for Iqaluit East, Paul Okalik, discussed with the Languages Commissioner that:

> If we want Inuktitut to be used in the future, I believe that we will have to use one standardized writing system. If individuals want to use the syllabic system, we're not going to stop them. As a government, we have to start looking at what the government system should be. If we want the majority of the workforce to utilize the Inuktitut language, we need to have a standardized writing system in order for the language to be utilized. (Legislative Assembly of Nunavut, 2010, p. 55)

Nunavut Tunngavik Incorporated (NTI)'s 2009/2010 annual report on the state of Inuit culture and society focuses on the state of the Inuit language in Nunavut. The report concluded that:

> If effective bilingual education is to be a realistic goal in Nunavut, development of education and supplementary reading materials must be robust, cost-effective, and streamlined. The only realistic solution to delivering such materials while maintaining quality control is for government, the education system, and future publishers to choose a single dialect for use in printed materials. This would allow publication to be centralized and resourced accordingly, assuming the necessary infrastructure would be in place. (NTI, 2010, pp. 47-48)

In the 2010/2011 annual report, the Nunavut Commissioner of Official Languages is also cited in the following comment, "standardized orthography is important for the long term survival of the language" (Languages Commissioner of Nunavut, 2011, p. 70). The report also made reference to the doctoral research of Aurélie Hot who recommended, as discussed earlier, that further considerations be given to legitimizing writing in roman orthography to make reading and writing more accessible to young Inuit using new technologies.

The National Committee on Inuit Education (NCIE) also called for a standardized Inuktut in the National Strategy on Inuit Education:

> The introduction of a standardized writing system, gradually and incrementally implemented through the school system, beginning with early childhood education language programs, followed by K-3 and then higher grades, will ultimately improve educational outcomes for Inuit. A standardized writing system will also facilitate the development and sharing of new terminology in the Inuit language, thus enriching the language. (NCIE, 2011, p. 89)

Shortly after making this statement, Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami (ITK) made a recommendation to establish an Inuit Task Force to explore the introduction of a standardized writing system for Inuit across Canada.

At the private sector level, it was also stressed that while businesses share the goal to protect and promote the Inuit language in Nunavut, they do not have the capacity and resources to provide services in many different dialects. Some businesses have called on government and Inuit organizations to demonstrate strong leadership on their part by explaining clearly, in plain language, the benefits of standardization to all

Nunavummiut, and its necessity in providing quality services to the public (Nunavut Department of Culture, Language, Elders and Youth (CLEY)[2], 2009).

Despite this support, the standardization of Inuktut will continue to present a challenging task as dialects vary from one region to another and even from one community to another. As reported at the Nunavut regional roundtables on language, some people even choose to speak in English when conversing with someone from a different dialect (Nunavut Department of CLEY, 2009).

As pointed out by Grenoble and Whaley, when points of linguistic variation are not recognized or, more accurately, not reconciled, there is the potential for arguments about whose language is "correct or real" (2006, p. 170). I agree that if a standard dialect is chosen for writing Inuktut, it may help to defuse tensions between speakers of different dialects by shifting their attention to the standard itself and away from a focus on what makes a dialect different from other dialects.

Once a standard is agreed upon, considerations will also need to be given to the need to revitalize the use of Inuktut in some communities, particularly in the Qitirmiut, in order to mitigate potential resistance to a common written standard for all of Nunavut. There might also be a need to develop strategies to preserve dialectal diversity in its oral forms to counterbalance the impact of a standardized written form of Inuktut, for instance, by promoting the use of dialects on local radios, and supporting dialects in local art performances and other community events (Tulloch, 2005).

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[2] Note that the Government of Nunavut, Department of Culture. Language, Elders, and Youth (CLEY) has now become the Department of Heritage and Culture

Moving toward standardization will require presentation of a strong argument as to why it is essential for modern government and daily business as well as why it is important for the survival of the Inuit language. Informational and educational sessions on the dialectal differences or, perhaps more importantly the similarities, will be needed. The Government of Nunavut and Inuit organizations need to take strong leadership on this matter to ensure that people understand how standardization will help unite Nunavummiut. The proverbial expression "united we stand, divided we fall" applies in this case, and involvement of youth will be vital because they become the "torch" carriers of our language into the future that will see Inuit as a people in Nunavut with a distinct cultural and linguistic identity within Canada.

In the period of a little over thirty years since reforms were enacted by ICI to Inuit writing systems, it may now be the time to take further steps, this time with the attendant research on how the standardized written language can be introduced into modern domains in Nunavut, such as in education, government and business.

Choosing a Standard

Despite the differences in phonology, morphology, lexicon and syntax, all Inuit dialects from Alaska, Canada and Greenland are similar enough to form a single language group (Dorais, 2010); however, in many Inuit communities people may be attached to their own dialects to the point that, for example, teachers in one community may resist using resources developed in another community or region.

The following sections provide a review of relevant literature related to the vitality of Inuktut in Nunavut, and presents key concepts in the literature about standardization, language variation and language attitudes that I consider in my research.

Language Use, Shift and Decline

In the 2006 Canadian Census, out of the 29,325 people living in Nunavut, 24,640 reported to be Inuit, forming the majority at 84% of the territorial population. A total of 4,690 people reported non-Inuit identity during the census period, including First Nations or Metis, Caucasian and individuals of other descent.

The following figure presents Canadian census data illustrating that among Inuit a 12% decline in Inuktut language use in homes has taken place over a period of ten years, including a 5% decline of Inuktut as mother tongue and a 3% decline of people with sufficient knowledge to speak it (Nunavut Bureau of Statistics, 2007). These figures also tell us that in 2006, 4,220 Inuit reported English as their mother tongue. To put this in a proper perspective, if these Inuit were to form their own community in Nunavut, they would actually constitute the second largest community of Inuit after the territorial capital, Iqaluit.

The same census data also shows a growing trend among Inuit with 8,830 using only or mostly English in the home. When Inuktut is no longer being used in the home, then children do not acquire it as a first language. This is a serious concern and a challenge for Inuktut educators who will have to redouble their efforts to teach Inuit students who come to school with limited Inuktut language skills. There are limited to non-existent second language Inuktut resources available to help teachers face this situation appropriately.

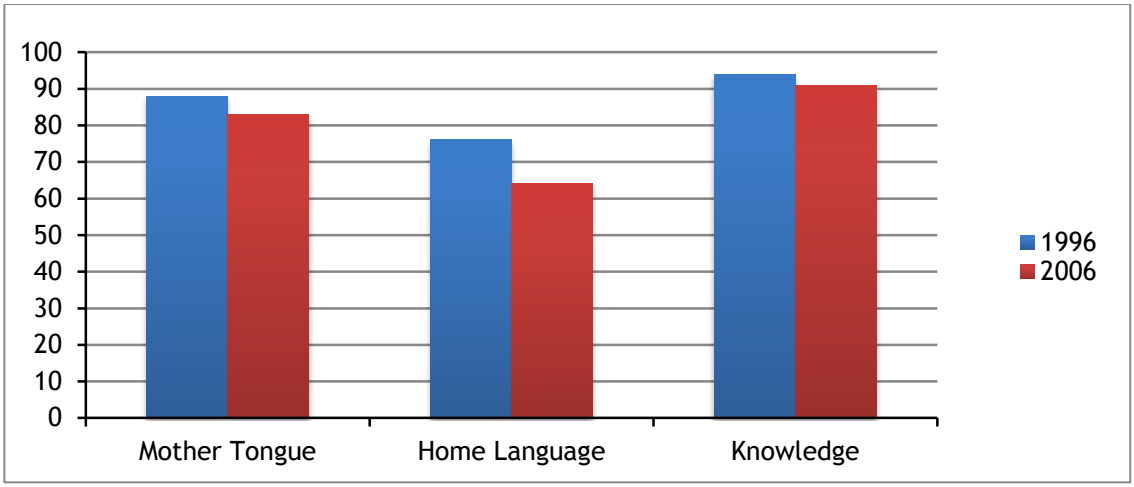

Figure 7. Proportion of Inuit with Inuktut as a mother tongue, home language and knowledge, Nunavut, Census 1996-2006

The use of Inuktut varies considerably between regions. There are six communities in the Qitirmiut region with a total population of 5,361 and only 2,320 (43%) who identify themselves as being able to speak Inuktut. In Kivalliq there are seven communities with a population of 8,348 and 6,740 (81%) Inuktut speakers. The thirteen communities in Qikiqtaaluk include 11,915 of the 15,765 (76%) people who speak Inuktut.

The following table shows that over a period of ten years, Inuktut has remained stable in the Qikiqtani region, but has slowly declined in the Kivalliq, and the decline is fastest in the Qitirmiut. In terms of language use in the home, decline was recorded in all regions even though a higher percentage of people claim to have knowledge of the language (Nunavut Bureau of Statistics, 2007).

	Mother Tongue		Home Language	
	1996	2006	1996	2006
Qikiqtani	94%	94%	86%	81%
Kivalliq	91%	88%	77%	65%
Qitirmiut	54%	45%	25%	15%

Figure 8. Inuktut as a mother tongue and home language, by region, Census 1996-2006

The overall decline in Inuktut use is alarming and Inuit must take measures to ensure the continued use and survival of the unique, beautiful and prominent language of Nunavut. We, as Inuit, notice the rapid loss as well as the erosion in the quality of Inuktut use among youth and in the media. Several factors in our history lead us to this state of our language. These include the introduction of the English language throughout the education system (McGregor, 2010; Languages Commissioner of Nunavut, 2011) and the lack of standardization in Inuktut taught in the schools, which was reported as confusing young people learning the language (George, 2011).

In her dissertation, Shelley Tulloch notes an interesting reason for the declining use of Inuktut among youth. She writes, “much as they value the possession of the language, its use becomes secondary, to the point that many young Inuit are finding that when they try to take out their Inuktitut and use it, that it has fallen out of their back pocket somewhere along their journey” (2004, p. 14). Youth said they valued Inuktut, but felt that they did not have adequate opportunities to learn it in its most advanced forms (including that they felt teachers were ill-equipped to teach it). Tulloch also found

that uncertainty about which forms were "correct" led to insecurity using Inuktut (Tulloch, 2004).

Standardization

To ensure the young people are learning the language and reverse this disturbing language shift, we should initiate a process known to stop language decline by supporting language use in an increased number of domains as described by Fishman (1997). One of the strategies described by Fishman is to revitalize a language by way of standardization.

Grenoble and Whaley (2006) also argue that standardization has evident advantages in terms of mutual comprehension between regions, which increases opportunities to use the language. They also confirm that in language revitalization situations involving literacy it is important to develop reading materials to teach the written form of the language: "In such cases standardization not only serves the purpose of unifying a local community (or a group of communities) around a common form; it also has the practical value of limiting the need to replicate the same set of materials for closely related dialects" (2006, p. 131). Grenoble and Whaley also state that, "one of the critical aspects of a successful revitalization program is the creation of an active body of language users. The written language can be a powerful tool toward achieving this goal if all or a large number of speakers can read and understand it" (2006, p. 131).

Joshua Fishman also stresses that it is important to explain patiently why a dialect or a compromise between dialects should be chosen as the standard for written communication, "because without a consensually recognized and unifying standard" efforts to reverse language shift will be essentially "handicapped" in modern domains where formal and extra-local written communication are often required (1997, pp. 348-

349). This includes government, schooling, communication media and business. Without a standard dialect, Fishman warns that efforts to reverse language shift might also not appeal to young, more educated people whose lifestyle is more modern/urban and mobile. This does not mean that no compromises should ever be made between dialects. Fishman suggests that a flexible standard (one with a sufficient number of permissible alternatives to satisfy various dialectal preference) is not only much better than no standard at all, it is also better than a standard that exacts a huge price in terms of compliance and, therefore, in support for reversing language shift (Fishman, 1997, p. 350).

In referring to standardization, Fishman emphasizes that despite stereotypes, "dialects are not shameful at all but, rather, totally legitimate expressions of local life in its most intimate, informal and authentic persons, places and topics" (1997, p. 348). In fact, "standardization and dialect preservation are not mutually exclusive goals, and the success of both initiatives will depend on convincing the population of their compatibility as concurrent goals in preserving the Inuit language" (Tulloch, 2005, p. 26).

A standard language is most commonly used in the written forms of limited, formal and modern domains. Nobody is expected to be a 'talking book' in homes, community or traditional domains. While students need to put efforts into learning the standard written conventions in schools, including the writing system itself and common spelling and grammar rules of Inuktut, they should be encouraged to continue to speak their own dialect with their parents, relatives and friends because "dialect is the language of the ordinary, informal, spontaneous and affectionate heart" (Fishman, 1997, pp. 340-341).

Lessons Learned

Language standardization has been addressed by many other countries and nations in the world. I think it is useful to look at these examples, and learn from them. I choose two examples, the case of Kalaallisut in Greenland, and the case of Innu-aimun in Labrador-Quebec.

Greenland. In Greenland there are three major dialects; Inuktut Avanirsuarmiutut spoken by Qaanaarmiut in North Greenland with a population of about 1,000, Tunumiisut in East Greenland with about 3,000 speakers whose dialect is said to be most difficult for speakers of other Inuit dialects to understand, and Kalaallisut in West Greenland which is the official, standard form of the language. Kalaalliit, though they have different dialects as we do in Nunavut, have been using the most recent standard official dialect and writing system since 1973. This standard is used in the education system and for communication from the government to the public (C. Olsen, personal communication, January 12, 2012). Kalaallit learn common spelling and grammar rules for writing Kalaallisut. They write using the roman orthography similar to the ICI roman orthography used in Nunavut except they use the letters e, o and f that we do not use. Before the writing system was revised in 1973, the Kalaalliit standard writing system was the Moravian orthography, which reflected the Nuuk dialect, and dates back to the 1860's.

People speaking different dialects that may otherwise not be able to understand each other may choose to communicate using the standard dialect. Being taught the standard dialect in the schools does not appear to have had an impact on how people speak in their communities (C. Olsen, personal communication, January 12, 2012). It is important to mention that for these communities, Kalaallisut is used as a standard mostly

in formal domains, such as in written government communications, school materials, religious literature and media. This approach supports effective communications across users of different dialects and ensures they are all reading the same written materials. The Northern and Eastern communities in Greenland continue to speak their own dialects at home and in their communities (Dorais, 2010).

Kalaalliit are very committed to further education and many have chosen the field of linguistics, communication and media for their studies. Kalaalliit, when speaking among each other, rarely switch to using Danish or English (K. Fleischer, personal communication, January 10, 2012). Kalaalliit use Kalaallisut as a strong marker of their national and cultural identity (Olsen, 1979).

Innu-aimun. The case of the Innu-aimun language, also known in French as Montagnais, is spoken on the northern-eastern shores of the Saint-Lawrence River in Quebec. This case is a good example of a flexible standard where compromises between dialects were made during the standardization process of the Innu-aimun language (Baraby, 2002).

Just like Inuktut, a standardized writing system was adopted in the 1970s to accurately write down the sounds of the Innu-aimun language. However, "the disparity of spelling habits among the teachers naturally caused a great deal of confusion among the pupils, who came to believe that Montagnais classes were futile or at least not serious" (Drapeau, 1985, p. 27). This contrasts with anyone who is taught rigorous spelling in English and/or French and is expected to perform to the highest standards in writing.

In the 1980's, Innu teachers, translators, linguists and community members came together to work on a set of common spelling rules of the written language, which were

based on existing dictionary resources for the more traditional Eastern dialect of Innu-aimun. In the 1990's, they further reached consensus on common grammar rules of the written language, but this time around, the rules were based on the Western dialect.

The resulting consensually-accepted rules of the written Innu are based on a conservative dialect which has retained many features of what Innu speakers consider the traditional language while the spelling of grammatical forms are based on another dialect that presents more regularity (Baraby, 2002). The rules of written Innu-Aimun also include the basic principles in which words that vary at the local or regional level are to be treated as synonyms, while the syntax and wording used by individual writers must be respected (Mailhot, 1997, pp. 9-11). In this way, texts are no longer changed into the readers' dialect, and the author's original vocabulary is always maintained. Students are expected to learn and understand the meaning of words that are not in their own dialect as they further their postsecondary education.

Language Variation and Language Attitudes

The consideration of language variation is a critical element of my research. Language variation plays an important role with respect to communication. Even when there may be only slight variations between variants of a language, such as in pronunciation of words or grammatical structures, studies show that intergroup communications may be impacted by what speakers consider as the best or most beautiful, prestigious or traditional variant of the language, while other variants may be considered to be not correct or not as prestigious (Grenoble & Whaley, 2006, p. 167).

A part of understanding language variation includes not only determining the variants, linguistically speaking, but also the attitudes of the speakers toward these variants. For instance, Steven A. Jacobson from the Alaska Native Language Center

notes that, “Sometimes the negative attitudes of other segments of society can influence people to feel badly about their own native language, causing conflict and confusion within the individual” (Jacobson, 1984. p. 6).

Another key factor to examine includes the speaker’s motivation in understanding, or to some extent, learning the other variants: “Intelligibility is dependent not only on strictly linguistic factors but on social and contextual ones as well” (Grenoble & Whaley, 2006, p. 169). Generally speaking, intelligibility testing helps determine which particular variant may be understood by the greater number of speakers, but also which variant may be considered more prestigious or traditional than others.

To look into these aspects of intelligibility and dialectal acceptance I consider Grenoble and Whaley’s suggested questions to assess language variation.

1. What kinds of regional variation exist? What are the names and numbers of dialects? How are dialects determined and named? How are they geographically distributed? How many speakers of each dialect? Is there any socioeconomic correlation with regional variation?
2. What is the size of the speaker base for each dialect? Are there speakers who use more than one dialect?
3. What kinds of register variation can be determined? Is the local language used in multiple domains and multiple registers, or does it occur in only limited domains? What is the relationship between different domains and dialects? In other words, which varieties are used for religious purposes, political purposes, education and so on?
4. What are the attitudes toward different variants? Do the dialects vary in terms of prestige? What are the socioeconomic factors, which underlie use of a given variety? More specifically, what are the attitudes toward the speakers of different dialects?

5. How well can speakers of one dialect understand another dialect? Assess degrees of intelligibility between dialects. (Grenoble & Whaley, 2006, p. 199)

In *Inuit Uqausiqatigiit: Inuit Languages and Dialects,* a publication prepared for the Arctic College's course on dialectology, Louis-Jacques Dorais summarized available academic work and linguistic descriptions of a number of dialects in Nunavut and across the Arctic (Dorais, 1990). In his most recent book, Dorais further summarized statistics on the number of speakers for each dialect (Dorais, 2010, pp. 93-95). Other scholars also studied the issue of language use by domains; in the homes, at work, in the community, by youth, in education, and literacy (Dorais & Sammons, 2002; Hot, 2010; Shearwood, 1998; Tulloch, 2004). However, no research has directly dealt with assessing the attitudes of teachers or the general public toward dialectal differences and language variation in Nunavut. For my research, then, I focused on Grenoble and Whaley's question number four, "What are the attitudes toward different varieties?".

Conclusion

Given that the Inuit language in Nunavut has come to an alarming state where its use is in continual decline and studies show that steps can be taken to reverse language shift, we must now look into how language standardization might help the revitalization and strengthening process of Inuktut and how new standards can be effectively disseminated throughout the education system. We must also look at how teachers' attitudes toward their own and others' dialects may help or be an obstacle to achieve standardization.

CHAPTER TWO

An Autoethnography of Teaching Inuktut

Family Influences and Writing Autoethnography

I am writing this thesis as a researcher who is professionally and personally involved in the standardization process. Language was a critically important element within our family life as I grew up. This chapter shares an autoethnographic story of the range and depth of my experiences learning and teaching Inuktut, and now working as a professional dedicated to supporting the language. The chapter also explains the sources of my passionate attachment to the topic of Inuktut standardization. It honours many of my family members as well as dedicated teachers, scholars and leaders who influenced me along the way.

My grandfather. I grew up in Nunavut in a small high Arctic community called Igloolik where our family was close-knit. My paternal grandfather, Noah Piugaattuk, was the eldest person in the community at the time and people would call on him for advice, to learn about the Inuit history and to understand the impact Inuit experienced as a result of being colonized. My grandfather remembered stories told to him about life before contact and he recalled some of the first non-Inuit who started living among the Inuit when he was a young boy who was becoming a young man. In fact he once guided a missionary named J. H. Turner, called Mikinniqsaq by the Inuit, to the Nattilik area in the Qitirmiut region in the late 1930's to the early 1940's where the last Inuit to be contacted by the outside world were living. His stories were rich and he used traditional terms that were no longer being used. I recall on many occasions Louis Tapardjuk and other researchers coming to his house to record interviews. I would sit quietly next to my grandmother and listen to the stories he shared. These numerous interviews are

archived at the Nunavut Research Center in Igloolik. At a young age I was already noticing the traditional language my grandfather was using and this ignited in me an interest in learning how language is passed on from generation to generation.

My father. My late father, Japeth Palluq, learned his traditional and language skills from his father. On my grandfather's insistence, after I had left the community to complete my high school education in Iqaluit, my father moved his family out of the community to live in an outpost camp for many years. My younger siblings were brought up in a traditional Inuit life where survival depended on the animals and the environment. My grandfather had seen the negative impact on family and social values after families were moved from their traditional camps into the communities and insisted that he wanted to see my younger siblings grow up with strong family values without being distracted by new and emerging behaviours that disrupted the strong family ties.

Before I left for Iqaluit, Nunavut, to attain my high school diploma, my father made sure that I was well grounded in my language. Just as he learned his traditional terminology from his father, he did everything he could to pass it on to me. Sometimes out of the blue he would say to me, "Panik, 'niiqquluktuq' qanuq tukiqarasugiviuk?" meaning, "Daughter, what do you think 'niiqquluktuq' means?" Anytime he would ask me such a question, it was always about a word I had never heard of before. I would think about the word, try to break it down and I would provide him with an answer. Sometimes he would chuckle, not that he was making fun of me. His little laughs were from being proud of me for trying to figure it out, or maybe my answers were down-right funny! But in doing these exercises with me he made sure that I had thought about the word in a way that I would remember and then he would tell me what it meant. This way he ensured that all that he was teaching me would stay with me in the future. At

times he was very blunt and he would tell me, “Panik, tammaravit!” meaning, “Daughter, you said that wrong!” He then would tell me that if I say it in this particular way I would be correct. As he was teaching me about terminology and how to speak properly he did so in different ways, both softly and in a loving manner and sometimes using a more blunt and harsh tone, but always in a way that I would learn and keep my language.

My father was a strong leader in our community of Igloolik, with deep roots in Inuit culture and traditions. He was one of the cultural and linguistic leaders. He learned from his father the traditional Inuktut, including terminology that is no longer used in our modern lives. Even people older than he would call on him about words that they themselves had forgotten. He gave me a very strong grounding and encouraged me as I pursued my work in the field of language learning and teaching. He continued to teach me from time to time about traditional terms right up until he passed away in April 2011.

My grandmother and aunt. My late maternal grandmother, Sipporah Innuksuk and aunt Leah Otak were also insistent that I speak properly in their company. They did not teach me in the same way as my father, but the stories they shared with me, together with keen observations about my responses, always kept me very aware of my speech. They too were quick to correct me if I made any mistakes and I was always conscious not to make the same mistake twice. In our language there are four possible post-bases following verb roots. This is because verb roots may end with a vowel, a ‘k’, ‘t’ or ‘q’. It is because of the different verb roots the post-base meaning ‘want’ is written in four different ways taking the forms *–juma-* following vowels, *-guma-* following /k/ endings, *-tuma-* following /t/ endings and *–ruma-* following a base ending in /q/. With some dialects and in the younger generations the /t/ post-bases are being dropped and replaced

with the /k/ post-bases. My grandmother insisted that I continue to use the /t/ endings and post-bases. People my age and sometimes people even older than I am who no longer use these endings and post-bases would either say they do not understand me or that I am speaking like the Elders or in an 'ancient' way. I did notice though that some younger people who grew up with their grandparents or in outpost camps were still also using these endings and post-bases.

My grandmother also insisted that we use our traditional relationship terms in our immediate and extended family. Traditionally people within a family would not call each other by name but rather by relation. Among siblings there are four terms, *angajuk* for older sibling of the same sex, *nukaq* for younger sibling of the same sex, *anik* for brother of a female and *najak* for sister of a male. If one is from a large family these four terms are all used with descriptive endings to differentiate one sibling from another. For example, if a male has many sisters he may call them *najak* (sister), *najakuluk* (sweet sister), *najaralaaq* (little sister) and so on. I have two older sisters and I call our eldest sister *angajutaaq* and the other *angajuk*.

These relationship terms extend to paternal and maternal aunts and uncles, cousins, in-laws, up to great-great grandparents. My grandmother's insistence that we use these terms also helped make our close-knit family even more tightly connected. Today more and more families are calling each other by name and not using these terms anymore but I make sure that my four sons never call each other by name but by relation and always make sure to use the relationship terms when I introduce them to any of our extended family members.

Cultural naming is similar to the way Inuit use traditional kinship terminology. When a child is named after a relative who has passed on, the spirit of the person is

believed to pass on to the child and the child will be regarded and addressed as the person s/he is named after. I have five sisters and I was the only daughter my father called ‘daughter’. He addressed my sisters with the name of the relation they were named after. Starting from the eldest to the youngest he addressed them as, *ningiuq* (grandmother), *najak* (sister), *ajak* (aunt), *anaana* (mother) and *illuq* (cousin). In teaching us to use kin terms, my grandmother helped us learn about our family history and to remember the relatives who had passed on. Another way in which my grandmother taught me, one that my father could not, was by teaching me different ways of skin preparation, pattern cutting and making clothing.

My *arnarvikuluk*, my aunt, who was also taught about proper language use continues to teach me to this day. She is the Manager of the Oral History Project with the Arctic College in Nunavut and documents traditional terminology. We have lengthy discussions on issues we are facing in our communities today about language use, loss, shift, and deterioration. Anytime she notices the improper use of terms, post-bases and endings by the speakers of her community in Igloolik, she tells me, providing me with the correct use. One example is the difference between the verb endings *–guni* and *–pat*. They both mean ‘if she/he/it’ but when using *–guni* the context of the sentence stays with the third person and if a *–pat* ending is used the context can change to the first or second person. Today we hear young people only using the *–guni* ending for the different contexts. My aunt also passed on to me anything my grandmother may have corrected in her language so I will not make any of the same mistakes. I use these teachings from her when I make teaching materials related to morphological, phonological and grammar rules of Inuktut. To this day, she continues to be my teacher,

guide and mentor. These teachers within my own family established correct patterns of Inuktut that have stayed with me throughout my life and I am grateful.

Professional Influences

Education. In my elementary and junior high school years in Igloolik, I was very fortunate to have strong Inuktut speaking teachers. In grade nine, Elizabeth (Liz) Apak taught me how to spell properly using the ICI standard writing rules and I was quick to catch on as I was already well grounded with my language from home. Liz was an experienced Inuktut language teacher who went on to work for the Baffin Divisional Board of Education at the Teaching and Learning Center in Nunavut and later with the Curriculum and School Services Division of the Department of Education, Government of the Northwest Territories (GNWT).

The teachers I had after the junior high school years were prominent language instructors and mentors such as Mary Cousins, Eva Aariak, Kathy Okpik, Monica Ittuksardjuat, Alexina Kublu, Mick Mallon, Louis-Jacques Dorais and Jose Kusugak. Mary Cousins, who was involved with the Inuit Cultural Institute (ICI) reform in 1974, was my high school Inuktut teacher. In the following year, Eva Aariak was also my teacher. In 2007, she became the first Languages Commissioner of Nunavut, and later won a seat as a Member of the Legislative Assembly, ultimately becoming Premier from 2008-2013. In my last year at high school Kathy Okpik, who at this time is the Deputy Minister of Education, taught me and I became her teaching assistant. I excelled in all my Inuktut classes and was subsequently asked to teach the Inuktut classes right after my graduation from high school.

In my years attending the Nunavut Teacher Education Program (NTEP) at Nunavut Arctic College (NAC) to obtain my teaching diploma and Bachelor of

Education degree, I had the privilege of learning from experienced and skilled linguists; Monica Ittuksardjuat, Alexina Kublu, Mick Mallon and Louis-Jacques Dorais all helped me to further understand the complexities of our language and the multiple dialects spoken across the North. I give credit to every one of my guides, mentors and teachers who helped me to work in the field of language, as a teacher, interpreter, translator and now as a linguist.

Teaching. I have taught Inuktut for over twenty years to students from the early years in school to adulthood. As I mentioned, I started teaching at the age of 18 just after I had graduated from high school in 1989 when I was asked to assist the Inuktut teacher to teach grades seven to nine. In the following two years I taught grades ten to twelve. My role was that of a Classroom Assistant in the first year and a Language Specialist for the next two years.

I had already developed a keen interest in learning about the different dialects spoken in Nunavut from living at the Ukiivik residence in Iqaluit where students from all over Nunavut, including the Kivalliq region, stayed while completing their high school education. Being exposed to hearing different dialects spoken during my high school years started my interest in studying Inuktut with all its variations. I was already thinking about the reasons the dialects varied and this preoccupation has become my work and passion since that time.

While teaching at the high school in Iqaluit, I had students from North and South Baffin as well as from Sanikiluaq in my classes. Though I later taught using my own North Baffin dialect, I made sure that the speakers of other dialects felt included in that if there were variations in dialect, I would include them in my teaching and tried to help

the students to understand how and why these differences were important, asking them if there were differences in spelling or difference in the way terms were used.

After obtaining my Bachelor of Education at NTEP in 1994, I started teaching at the elementary levels from grade one to six. In my first two years of teaching I taught at Joamie School in Iqaluit, teaching all subjects in Inuktut to grades two and three, and then grades three and four. I then transferred to Igloolik to teach the grade one class and in the following year, grades five and six. I thoroughly enjoyed teaching at all these grade levels and using our Inuit language to ensure that students were provided with the best instruction that was possible given some limitations with respect to reading materials.

Teaching the grade one class in Igloolik particularly stands out in my teaching experience. I was very aware that the first years of education set the foundation for the remaining years of schooling. My students came into my class speaking in Inuktut but with a minimal ability to read and write. They could write their names in Inuktitut and recognize their classmates' names and that was just about the limit of their literacy levels. I could see they were very eager to learn, and at that age they were like sponges ready to absorb anything. I decided to be creative in teaching them to recognize the syllabics. They already knew how to sing the Inuktut syllabics song. Rather than continuing to sing the traditional song "i, pi, ti, ki… u, pu tu ku… a, pa, ta, ka…" I had them sing in different orders, while pointing out to each syllabic I had them sing, "i, u, a, pi, pu, pa, ti, tu, ta…" and from the bottom up, "łi, łu, ła, ngi, ngu, nga, qi, qu, qa…" and "łi, ngi, qi... łu, ngu, qu... ła, nga, qa...". I found in a very short time, they were connecting the symbols to the sounds. Having learned the syllabics, I challenged the students to write their thoughts in their daily journals. They started out by writing simple

sentences and by December the entries in their journals were written in paragraphs using punctuation marks. The parents and my colleagues were amazed at how quickly the students learned to read and write, but to me I was just giving the children the opportunity to express their abilities and talents. To me, it showed how capable they were of learning to become literate very quickly.

I moved to Ottawa from Igloolik in 1998 and started working for the Inuit Head Start program as a Parent Coordinator with *Tungasuvvingat Inuit*. Head Start is a pre-kindergarten program designed to encourage school readiness for First Nations, Metis and Inuit children in Canada. As a Parent Coordinator I delivered different programs and training courses for the parents of the enrolled children. Some of the training included the Nobody's Perfect parenting course, Inuktut literacy, social and financial skills training as well as offering cultural activities such as Inuit food preparation and making clothing such as parkas for the children and amautis for the mothers. Though I was new to southern living, I also helped parents who had just moved to Ottawa from Nunavut and the Northwest Territories to adjust to living in a city.

In 2001, I was fortunate to be selected for a teaching job at *Nunavut Sivuniksavut* (NS), a post-secondary college program for Nunavut students graduating from high school. I taught Inuit history, the Nunavut Land Claims Agreement and the Inuktut classes. I found myself once again having to teach students with different dialects, as well as students with different skill levels. Some students were very fluent speakers, especially those from the Baffin communities, but some were unable to speak in Inuktut. Drawing on my experience working at the high school in Iqaluit as well as in the dialectology courses I took while I was studying to become a teacher, I was able to

deliver the Inuktut class using multiple dialects. Students really enjoyed learning about each other's dialects and this encouraged them to speak to each other in Inuktut.

While living in Ottawa I also took a position at Carleton University teaching the Inuktut as a second language course. There were about 20 non-Inuit students enrolled in the course. I used a morphological and phonological approach in teaching. Students studying in different fields were interested in learning Inuktut. One student who stood out was very eager to learn and had plans to move to Nunavut. After graduation he moved to Igloolik and used his basic understanding from the course to continue to practice and learn Inuktut. Another student who was working with the National Research Council (NRC) of Canada was working on a project in which he was developing a computer application called the Inuktitut Morphological Analyzer. This application allowed people to look up Inuktut morphemes (decomposed words), including noun and verb roots, and noun and verb post-bases.

Another work experience I accepted before moving back to Iqaluit was as a proof-reader for the Inuktitut magazine with ITK, formerly known as the *Inuit Tapirisat* of Canada, a national Inuit organization. Jose Kusugak, who had taken part in the writing reform resulting in the ICI standard writing system for Nunavut, was the president at the time. I proofread and translated articles as well as edited articles written first-hand in Inuktut. Zebedee Nungak from Nunavik was one of the Inuit writers. He was handwriting his articles in Inuktut and I would transcribe them for him. Though Nungak is from Nunavik and used a Kangirsuk dialect with a non-ICI standard writing system, he agreed that I could transcribe his work using the ICI standard. Upon completing the transcription I would print and fax the work over to him. This was followed by a telephone meeting to review any issues before publication.

Pirurvik Center. I moved back to Iqaluit in the summer of 2005 and started working at the Pirurvik Center, a privately owned business working on Inuit culture, well-being and excellence in language. My role was as a translator, teaching materials developer and traditional terminologist. During the four years I worked at Pirurvik I was involved in many projects including translating the Microsoft interface to Inuktut, which at times was very challenging as we translated words that had never been considered before, such as flash drive, internet, e-mail, format and so on. This work was very interesting as translations were coming from different dialects and traditional terms were being used to translate new and modern terminology. A few translations stood out as they were translated using the Arviat dialect, *ikajuqti'naaq* for the help icon, and, *tuqquivi'naaq* for flash drive. The glottal stop ' is mainly used in the Kivalliq dialects with the ending –*naaq*. In the North and South Baffin dialects it would be written as *ikajuqtiralaaq* and *tuqquiviralaaq*. Translating the interface using roman orthography added to challenges of translating technological terminology. Opting to use the Kivalliq dialect in these two examples provided for one less character for the space provided.

Internet was translated as *ikiaqqivik* which is a shamanistic word that has not been used since Christianity was introduced and shamanism was no longer practiced. Shamans had the ability to have an out-of-body experience, traveling to other camps in a trance to get news of how the people were doing. It was found fitting to use this term for the Internet as we can now, through the use of our computers, get news from all around the world without leaving our homes.

I helped with the development of Inuktut as a second-language teaching materials from the beginner to advanced levels. I also helped in developing and delivering Inuktut as a first-language courses ranging from Inuit Cultural Institute (ICI)

standard spelling and grammar courses to Inuktut professional writing courses for government employees. As a traditional terminologist I had the great privilege of working with Inuit Elders from different communities in the Baffin Region documenting themed terminology such as kinship, environment and weather, hunting and skinning, food preparation, *qulliq*, camping, and Inuit societal values.

Inuit Uqausinginnik Taiguusiliuqtiit: The Inuit Language Authority in Nunavut. Until late January, 2013, I worked as a linguist with the Inuit Uqausinginnik Taiguusiliuqtiit (IUT), the Inuit Language Authority in Iqaluit, where I continued to study dialectal differences of the Inuit language from Alaska to Greenland. In the two years in this position, I was involved in symposia, conferences and meetings across Nunavut on language and education issues. The topic of Inuktut standardization was always brought up and discussed at length. While some people recognized the need to standardize Inuktut and were calling for change, others remained hesitant about the idea, thinking that standardizing the language would endanger or eliminate some spoken dialects. On several occasions I was asked to give presentations on dialectal differences and standardization of Inuktut (e.g. Palluq-Cloutier, 2012a, 2012b) the most recent one with the Federation of Endangered Languages conference in Ottawa in October 2013 (Palluq-Cloutier, 2013).

As an employee for the IUT's education committee I held two meetings to collect themed terminology as requested by the committee. The first meeting was held in Iqaluit with participants from both North and South Baffin (Pond Inlet, Clyde River, and Qikiqtarjuaq). Terms related to the *qulliq*, the stone lamp; *qamutiik*, the sled; *qarmaq*, the sod house; and *iglu* the snow house were collected. I then held a meeting in the Qitirmiut region with participants from Kugluktuk, Gjoa Haven, Taloyoak and

Cambridge Bay. Because of the different dialects spoken, there could be more than one term for the same thing. When that was the case we recorded all the terms indicating the first term as the Baffin dialect and the second or third terms as the Qitirmiut dialects. For example, the terms for an abandoned *iglu* are *igluvigaq*, *igluvikkaku* and *igluluarjuk*. They all mean exactly the same thing but are said differently from one region to another.

Working at IUT provided me with the opportunity to work directly with teachers, interpreters and language experts from all over Nunavut and abroad. I attended meetings with the Language Authority in Quebec and Greenland. I also attended national and international conferences and symposia on language issues including the Nunavut Teacher's Conference in February 2012 (Palluq-Cloutier, 2012a); the National Terminology Council in Ottawa; the Federal Terminology Council in Ottawa; Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami's Round Table on Future Directions in Research in Inuit Education, the Linguistic Society of America's Summer Institute Workshop on Sociolinguistic of Language Endangerment in Boulder, Colorado, and the Inuit Circumpolar Conferences' Arctic Indigenous Languages meeting. All these experiences provided me with a broader awareness and understanding of language issues, not only with Inuit in Nunavut but with respect to similar issues facing aboriginal and indigenous languages around the globe. These experiences have directed and helped set priorities for my work and research for Inuktut in Nunavut.

At several of these meetings and symposia I was highly moved and influenced by the late Jose Kusugak's vision and dreams for the survival and advancement of our language. Throughout his teaching and political career he always held Inuktut at the forefront of his priorities and was very vocal about the need for standardization starting from being involved with the language reform in 1974. Before his involvement with the

then Inuit Tapirisat of Canada (ITC) as an assistant to the President, Tagak Curley, and later with the Inuit Cultural Institute (ICI), he was an Inuktitut and Inuit history teacher in Rankin Inlet, Nunavut, and Churchill, Manitoba at the Churchill Vocational Institute (CVC). After leaving the teaching profession he worked for the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC) and later with the Inuit Broadcasting Corporation (IBC) for over ten years. Jose then went on to the political arena when he was elected to be the President of Nunavut Tunngavik Incorporated (NTI) where he was responsible for negotiating the comprehensive land claim for Inuit in Nunavut, serving two terms as President. He was then appointed President of ITC. While at ITC, having understood the needs of all four Inuit regions in Canada, including the Inuvialuit, Nunavut, Nunavik and Labrador as they achieved land claims with their respective national, territorial, and provincial governments, he changed the name of the organization to Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami (ITK) meaning that Inuit are united.

I knew of Jose Kusugak because of the important leadership roles he held throughout his life, but I only started hearing directly from him through the conferences and symposia he attended on language issues in Nunavut and abroad. I would very keenly listen to his presentations hanging on to every word, in total agreement with his thoughts and views on Inuktut issues and the importance of standardizing the language.

At the 2010 Nunavut Language Summit Jose likened the erosion of the Inuit language to a cultural “tsunami” or “earthquake” that everyone knows is coming but that no one is doing anything about. At the same summit he said, “Everything will come together if we agree on one standard language for writing. It is possible to have one dialect as a foundation, whichever dialect, we can use that dialect as a starting point, add to it as needed, it is as simple as that if people want it” (Personal comments made by

Jose Kusugak, Nunavut Language Summit, Iqaluit, Nunavut, February 2010). At the 2008 Arctic Indigenous Languages Symposium, he claimed, "There are many new initiatives to help support the survival of the Inuit language, but…none of these come close to standardizing Inuktitut*"* (Kusugak, 2008, p. 10). Anytime Jose spoke at meetings and conferences about language use and loss, his passion came out strongly. I would come out of these meetings with a greater conviction and determination to see his dreams realized. His words validated my own dreams of what we need to be doing to see our language survive and thrive.

Another person I must mention is my husband, Stéphane Cloutier. He is currently the Director of Official Languages with the Department of Culture and Heritage, Government of Nunavut. When I first met him twenty years ago, he was just starting to learn to speak Inuktut. He was very interested in the Inuit language and culture and he continues to learn. He has now become fluent enough to converse with unilingual Inuit. Because of his interest in learning the language he has not only given me the support I need in my field of studies and work, he has greatly contributed to where I am today in my studies related to the language. Together we have passionate discussions on linguistic issues in Nunavut and abroad. As a francophone having grown up in a small unilingual French community in Quebec and then learning to speak English at university, he is very aware of the need to fight to keep and maintain your mother tongue. His perspective on the history of Francophones in Québec and across Canada, including in Nunavut, fighting to keep their language in a minority situation have shown me the importance of the work we, Inuit, are doing for our language.

I have very recently taken a leave from my position with the Language Authority of Nunavut and moved back to Ottawa to accept a position with ITK that focuses on the

standardization of Inuktut as one of the priorities identified in the National Strategy on Inuit Education which reaches across all four regions of Inuit Nunangat. My research focuses on efforts to standardize the Inuktut writing system in Nunavut, while the National Inuit organization is giving the same efforts to see a standardized writing system among all Inuit in Canada.

Summary

From my childhood, through my upbringing, my education and in the different roles I have held throughout my career I have always been interested in learning and expanding my language with all of its complexities and dialects. I have learned that providing feedback on language in either formal or informal learning from the early years and throughout educational experiences is very important. It helps build a solid language foundation. The feedback I received from my father, my grandmother, and my aunt helped me take inventory of the skills I have and identify where I needed to improve. In turn, I used that knowledge when I started teaching at the elementary level. Coupled with high expectations and confidence that the students were capable of excellence, I believe I was able to help them to succeed.

Everyone I have learned from and worked with over the years has strengthened the value that is based in a passionate love of language. In one way or another, everyone I mention in this chapter has knowingly or unknowingly instilled in me the passion I carry today. I must mention that in particular, my father and Jose Kusugak gave me a deep understanding of the value of the language that must be continued and maintained. Sadly, Jose passed away in January 2011 before his dream to see the standardization of our language was achieved. I believe very strongly that his work and dreams must not be forgotten and that it now our turn as Inuit to continue his legacy.

This chapter which focuses on an autoethnographic account of my own story as a linguist, teacher, and language advocate has lead me to a point in my life where I am increasingly interested in researching and determining what we, as Inuit, need to be doing to provide a high quality education in Inuktut to all the children and young people in Nunavut. We need to find out what the attitudes are of teachers about dialects spoken within Nunavut and how they feel about standardization. My ultimate goal is to ensure that the Government of Nunavut and Inuit organizations have the data and information that could potentially lead to a collective decision on a common language for teaching materials across Nunavut. It is this quest that had led me to complete a Master of Education thesis on the topic of standardization of the language.

CHAPTER THREE

Methodology

Introduction

The methodological framework guiding this thesis is drawn from the writing of Linda Tuhawai Smith (1999) who suggests that research in Indigenous contexts needs to contribute to the process of decolonization by addressing aspects of the colonial past that have impacted the lives of participants, communities, and families. In this case the research takes place in Nunavut, an Inuit context in Canada that continues to feel the weight of colonization in spite of the political processes that led to the Land Claims and the creation of Nunavut. The strength of Inuktut, as I have previously mentioned, continues to be negatively impacted by the pervasive and hegemonic influence of English, particularly within the educational system where the majority of teachers and school administrators are from southern Canada and do not speak Inuktut. Efforts to revitalize Inuktut by standardizing the language can contribute to the maintenance of Inuit identity, which is a decolonizing process.

In completing the autoethnographic chapter, I am choosing to provide my own story as a decolonizing text, which stands as an account of my own efforts to strengthen and maintain Inuktut throughout my life and career. With Jose Kusugak, ITK, NTI, the Government of Nunavut and many other Inuit agencies and individuals, I see the teaching of Inuktut as a key element in efforts to continue to develop an Inuit school system that can help maintain the Inuit identity of the majority of the students.

In choosing to survey Inuktut speaking educators in Nunavut[3], the majority being Inuit, I am reaching out as an Inuk researcher to provide an opportunity for the opinions and beliefs of my colleagues to be documented and heard in the dialogue related to the standardization of Inuktut.

My specific interest in the survey was to determine the attitudes of the teachers with respect to the dialectal differences or variations and the ways they support or resist standardization. I wanted to know if Inuktut teachers were ready to accept a standard form of the language for teaching across Nunavut.

In this chapter I focus on presenting the reasons why I decided to focus on the teachers of Nunavut to investigate their attitudes toward the dialectal variations, how the survey was designed and the reasons I decided on the particular survey tool I used.

Population Focus

The population focus for my research is Inuktut speaking teachers across Nunavut. Teachers can be considered the primary front line workers dealing with a variety of language issues on a daily basis in Nunavut schools. They are faced with having to use teaching and reading materials in different dialects or having to create their own classroom materials in their specific dialects.

Depending on the region and community, teachers in Nunavut may also be faced with the challenges of teaching students who may speak dialects other than their own. An example of this is in Iqaluit where there are teachers from the North Baffin region

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[3] I included all Inuktut-speaking educators, regardless of which subjects they teach and of which language they teach in.

teaching students who are primarily from the South Baffin region, or a South Baffin region teacher who may be teaching students from North Baffin and the Kivalliq region (Dorais & Sammons, 2002). Iqaluit is the capital city of Nunavut and many people from different regions move there either to further their education or for employment opportunities, which means that several dialects are in use. There are also other communities in Nunavut that are multi-dialectal.

According to the Department of Education, Government of Nunavut, there were 251 Inuit educators working in the schools in the 2012-13 academic year. The majority of the Inuit educators are from the Baffin and Kivalliq region. As of March 2013, out of the 251educators, 84 are language specialists, 22 are principals and/or vice principals and 145 are teachers.

	Principals/ Vice-Principals	Teachers	Language Specialists
Nunavut	22	145	84
Baffin	7	65	61
Kivalliq	13	56	12
Qitirmiut	2	24	11

Figure 9. Number of Inuit teachers in Nunavut

Geographic Focus

Although there are three political regions in Nunavut, Qitirmiut, Kivalliq and Baffin, the regions for my survey were divided into six; West Qitirmiut, East Qitirmiut, Kivalliq, North Baffin, South Baffin and Nunavik. I made this decision because even in one political region dialectal differences are great enough to be divided into two dialectal regions, such as Inuinnaqtun in West Qitirmiut and Nattilingmiutut in East

Qitirmiut as well as Quttikturmiut in North Baffin and Uqqurmiut in South Baffin. The Kivalliq region also contains two main dialect groups, Aivilik (Rankin Inlet, Chesterfield, Coral Harbour and Repulse Bay) and Kivalliq proper (Arviat, Whale Cove and Baker Lake). Regrettably, this distinction was not captured in the survey, the implications of which will be discussed in the results section. Through relocation of Inuit from Nunavik to the high Arctic in the 1950s, the southernmost community in Nunavut, Sanikiluaq, and some Inuit from Grise Fiord and Resolute Bay, speak the Nunavik dialect, thus it is included as part of this survey.

For the purpose of my survey, Inuktut has therefore been divided into six regional variants or dialects of Inuktut, which geographically coincide loosely with a certain number of communities:

- West Qitirmiut (Cambridge Bay, Kugluktuk)
- East Qitirmiut (Gjoa Haven, Kuugaruk, Taloyoak)
- Kivalliq (Arviat, Baker Lake, Chesterfield Inlet, Rankin Inlet, Repulse Bay, Whale Cove)
- North Baffin (Grise Fiord, Resolute Bay, Arctic Bay, Hall Beach, Igloolik, Pond Inlet, Clyde River)
- South Baffin (Clyde River, Qikiqtarjuaq, Iqaluit, Kimmirut, Pangnirtung, Cape Dorset)
- Nunavik (Grise Fiord, Resolute Bay, Sanikiluaq)

The following table demonstrates the number of Inuktut speakers in each of these regions as documented by Louis-Jacques Dorais (2010).

	Number of Inuit	1st language speakers	Language use at home
West Qitirmiut	2,410	890	245
East Qitirmiut	2,370	1,465	475
Kivalliq	7,515	6,740	4,910
North Baffin	5,040	4,985	4,670
South Baffin	6,855	6,230	4,820
Nunavik	710	700	685

Figure 10. Inuktut speakers by region

It should be noted that not all communities have a homogenous regional variant or dialect. For instance, as an important administrative and economic hub for the entire territory, Iqaluit attracts Inuit from many other communities. The territorial capital has therefore become an important place for interaction between dialects from across Nunavut and other Inuit regions (Dorais & Sammons, 2002). A similar situation can be found in other administrative regional centers, including Rankin Inlet and Cambridge Bay. Through a combination of history and inter-community migration factors, some communities may also have more than one dialect present, such as in Grise Fiord and Resolute Bay where both Nunavik and North Baffin dialects are spoken and Clyde River where North and South Baffin dialects are spoken.

There may also be sub-dialects in some communities. For instance, in Baker Lake there are two main dialects, Harvaqtuurmiut and Akillinirmiut with five sub-dialects; ki'linirmiut (Cambridge Bay), Ki'linirmiut (Yathked Lake), Utkuhiksalingmiut, Iluilirmiut and Hanningajurmiut (Eva Noah, personal communication, May 17, 2013). These factors are important while considering attitudes toward dialectal variations.

Survey Design

I selected a primarily quantitative approach for the survey with a multiple-choice, closed questionnaire (Appendix A), as well as a qualitative component when some questions encouraged participants to explain their answers. All participants were free to withdraw from the research process at any time should they choose. The questionnaire consisted of questions written in English so that all participants could answer questions without prejudice toward the dialect used in the questionnaire. I could reasonably expect that the teachers can all read and write English comfortably because they needed to learn English in order to complete their teaching qualifications.

The questions asked which dialect(s) teachers could speak, understand, read and write, which writing system they were most comfortable using, which dialect they preferred when reading, and their language attitudes toward dialectal variations. These questions are important when understanding the relative acceptability of one dialect as a chosen standard.

The survey had 30 questions. The first set of questions was intended to collect socio-demographic data on the respondents. This included questions about where the teachers grew up and where they currently live, their gender, age, and employment in the schools.

The second set of questions addressed the dialect(s) that may be considered as the first and still spoken language of respondents, as well as a self-reported assessment of their proficiency in that language. It also included questions on self-reported intelligibility of other regional variants or group of dialects. For the purpose of the self-proficiency assessment, I looked at existing classifications for European languages that were used in previous household language surveys in Nunavut (Nunavut Bureau of

Statistics, 2001). I finally opted for a similar language proficiency scale used in a survey of the vitality of Māori in New Zealand. As documented in the *2006 Survey on the Health of the Maori Language Final Report* (Kalafatelis & Johnson, 2007), the latter language proficiency scale was simple and in plain language while matching more complex language proficiency classifications.

The term *proficiency* is understood as an individual's knowledge of Inuktut through a specific set of language skills, such as

- Speaking (i.e. the ability to convey meaning to others through speech)
- Listening (i.e. the ability of the listener to understand what others are saying)
- Reading (i.e. the ability to understand what others have written)
- Writing (i.e. the ability to convey meaning to others through writing)

Respondents were asked to assess their own level of ability to speak, listen, read and write their own dialect, as well as other dialects of Inuktut. This data was used to determine if a particular dialect is understood by a greater number of respondents. In order to record responses, respondents were asked to place themselves into one of five proficiency categories:

- Very well (I can talk/understand/read/write about almost anything in …)
- Well (I can talk/understand/read/write about many things in …)
- Fairly well (I can talk/understand/read/write about some things in …)
- Not very well (I can talk/understand/read/write about simple/basic things in …)
- No more than a few words or phrases

In my analysis, I take into account that self-reported intelligibility with other dialects may be the result of linguistic factors, but also of respondents' perceptions of which dialect is perceived or accepted as more prestigious, traditional and useful (Grenoble & Whaley, 2006).

Respondents were asked to rate how close they consider the different regional variants or dialects to their own. They were also asked which dialect would seem to be used most prominently in different settings, such as church, media, and government publications. They were further asked to identify in which region people speak the best Inuktut in their opinion.

The next set of questions was intended to assess the relative acceptability of a dialect as a chosen standard. For instance, respondents were asked to rank their interest in learning different regional variants or dialects for themselves or for their children and/or schoolchildren. They were also asked to identify how much Inuktut and/or English they use when speaking with people from other regions, and how often they read documents written in other dialects.

Respondents were also asked if they would agree to learn another dialect if it meant that Inuktut would stay strong or if they would rather speak English than speak in a different dialect. Respondents were further asked to what extent they agree with choosing a standard dialect of Inuktut for teaching materials in Nunavut, and which dialect would be most suitable for language of instruction and material development in schools in Nunavut.

Finally, respondents were asked if they would agree that there should be only one writing system in Nunavut, and if they would prefer syllabics or roman orthography.

This has important implications, as materials are currently produced using different orthographies and are not necessarily interchangeable.

Data Collection

Before I sent out the survey, I met with the Acting Assistant Deputy Minister for the Department of Education in Nunavut (at that time), Trudy Pettigrew. She wrote a letter of support for my application for a research license with the Nunavut Research Institute. At our meeting she offered to send the invitation to the survey via e-mail to all the Inuktut teachers in Nunavut.

Teachers were invited to answer the online questionnaire through a program called SurveyMonkey. With the Internet available to all teachers in Nunavut, I thought it would be the best way to attract interested teachers to take part. According to many online reports, SurveyMonkey is perhaps the best-known survey tool in the field.

All Inuktut speaking educators from each school in every community were invited to take part in my research. With the support from the Department of Education, I contacted all principals of the schools in Nunavut by electronic mail on February 11, 2013. I explained my research and asked that the Inuktut speaking teachers be invited to take part in my survey. After the e-mails were sent, I faxed a letter to all the schools followed by telephone calls to the school secretaries to ensure that the notice was received and put up on bulletin boards where all teachers can see the request (Appendix B).

The initial deadline to complete the survey was set for February 22, 2013, providing the teachers two weeks to complete the survey. However, there were several challenges that impacted the level of response. For instance, during the first week of the survey, all teachers were involved in professional development and many attended

learning opportunities outside their home communities. By the deadline date, only a few teachers had completed the survey. Given this situation, the deadline was then extended six times, and I took several steps to promote the survey and encourage teachers to complete it.

To promote my research project through media, I was interviewed on *Igalaaq*, a territorial news television broadcast in Inuktut on February 28 where I spoke about the history of Inuit writing systems and the research I was conducting for my thesis. I was also interviewed by CBC North in a live radio show on March 1. This time I spoke about the use of different dialects spoken in Nunavut and about my efforts to determine the dialectal attitudes of teachers in Nunavut for my research. The interview was re-broadcast in the evening during prime time regional news.

The following are the additional steps and extensions I made to the deadline to allow for the recruitment of more respondents:

- A reminder was faxed to all schools on February 27. By the deadline, 14 communities had still not responded.
- The deadline was extended to March 1. An extension notice was faxed to all the schools followed by a telephone call to all the secretaries.
- The deadline was extended to March 6. A list of the communities that had not yet responded was faxed along with the extension notice. All schools were contacted by phone to ensure the invitation was passed on to teachers, and all confirmed that this had happened.
- Suspecting that technological and Internet connection issues may have prevented teachers from taking part in the survey, a hard copy was faxed to schools on April 18 with the new title, What are your thoughts on

dialectal differences in Nunavut? A new question was added to find out if in fact technological and internet connections were issues. Among the six responses received by fax following the April 18 fax, two confirmed that they did have connection issues, while others stated they were too busy to complete the survey until the new date was provided. The deadline to return surveys was left open after this date.

- I made a further presentation on March 21 regarding my research to the Nunavut Teacher Education Program students in Iqaluit.
- On June 2, I made a short presentation during the Research Symposium when Master of Education Leadership in Learning graduates presented their research papers in Iqaluit. Hard copies of the survey were distributed to attending teachers, and six were completed and all the documents were returned for my attention.
- On June 19, I faxed schools that had not yet closed for the summer with questions to see how the teachers learned about the survey and for what reason they had not completed the survey. I announced that the names of the respondents to these questions would be put into a draw to win a $50 gift certificate from Northmart. I also explained my research and provided the link to the survey for any interested teachers, and mentioned that the names of those completing the survey would be put into a draw to win a hand-sewn sealskin purse.
- On June 19 I met with Trudy Pettigrew again as she had been involved in supporting my work in her role as Acting Assistant Deputy Minister. At that time she informed me that she had an assistant send out an e-mail to

all the teachers who are beneficiaries in the Baffin/Qikiqtani region and she also sent an e-mail to the Executive Directors of Kivalliq and Qitirmiut and asked them to send the invitation to the survey to all the Inuit teachers in their perspective regions. Learning that I had a very low response rate, she asked for a hard copy of the survey so that she could hand-deliver copies to some teaches she knew personally as well as to the Educational Leadership Program (ELP) participants who were also teachers of Inuktut (if they had not yet completed the survey).

- To reach out to more potential participants in my research, I was also encouraged to contact former teachers who may now be working for the Departments of Education, Culture and Heritage or Inuit organizations. I contacted these NTEP graduates by e-mail with an invitation and the link to the survey.

Administering an online survey in a territory as spread out geographically as Nunavut proved to be a significant challenge. It is very difficult to coordinate the distribution and ensure the full and equal participation of all communities and Inuktut teachers. Some teachers reported that they had technical problems accessing the survey online, and when my advisor phoned a reliable colleague who was a school principal in Nunavut, we learned that the survey did not even reach the school principal in spite of the e-mails, faxes and my personal phone calls to school secretaries. Personal information from some potential respondents revealed they were too busy during the school year to complete the survey. I also found that while schools confirmed the invitation was passed on to all teachers, some teachers said that they had never heard about my survey or received the information and the letter of invitation.

I would suggest that future researchers trying to collect data from all the communities from a long distance should also make announcements on the local radio stations. One way to have it aired at different times and days would be to send out recorded facts about the research and contact information for interested participants to take part. Another suggestion is if data is to be collected from teachers, the researcher should find a teacher or a person from each community or schools to volunteer to be the point of contact to disseminate and collect the surveys. As with the *Pauqatigiit* survey, if an issue (such as this one) is important enough, educators could be given a specific time and date within their work schedule to complete the survey. Surveys might also be completed in person at regional or territorial-wide conferences where there is more time available to fully inform and recruit participants.

Method of Analysis

After reviewing the history and descriptions of Inuktut and the different dialects across the Arctic and Nunavut, and also reviewing the writing systems used, in the next chapter I will use the concepts of language variation and attitudes as outlined by Grenoble and Whaley (2006) to analyze the data from my survey. I will interpret the information as appropriate through my own ethnographic observations of language use and practices as an Inuk teacher, linguist and researcher. While I compare the data collected in percentages and averages in my analysis, my purpose is to illuminate possible trends and I am not claiming that differences between averages are statistically significant.

Ethical Considerations

The research proposal, including the survey, was approved by the Research Ethics Board (REB) at the University of Prince Edward Island on October 10, 2012 and

by the Nunavut Research Institute (NRI) issued on December 20, 2012. The NRI Certificate is attached as Appendix C.

A letter to all the principals and to all the Inuktut speaking teachers was sent via e-mail and fax informing them that all Inuktut speaking teachers, principals and vice-principals were invited to take part in my research through an on-line survey with an explanation of what my research is about. A link to the on-line survey was provided in the invitation letter. Once interested participants got on line they were greeted with more information about the research and informed that by filling out the survey they are giving consent to take part. Contact information for myself, and the Research Ethics Board of the University of Prince Edward Island were provided should participants have questions or concerns about any aspect of their participation or the ethical conduct of the survey.

Participants were informed that all Inuktut teachers in Nunavut were invited to participate, that their participation was entirely voluntary, that their contributions would be used anonymously and that they could withdraw at any time without penalty. They were informed that by proceeding with the survey, they acknowledged having read and understood the objectives of the research and agreed to take part. They were informed that it would take between 15 and 20 minutes to complete the survey.

Participants were also informed in the invitation letter and in the consent form that the outcome of the survey would be important for the Orthography committee at Inuit Uqausinginnik Taiguusiliuqtiit, the Inuit Language Authority in Nunavut. The potential participants knew this committee would be considering the standardization of Inuktut writing for the territory. I worked at this office as the linguist and much of my work and research was dedicated to dialectal and orthography issues. In my role I was

documenting how dialects vary phonetically and morphologically as well as the use of lexicon and syntax through modern speech in the different dialects. The documentation of the different dialects also took place through the collection of traditional terminology. Participants were reminded that the outcome of the survey on the attitudes of teachers about dialectal differences would be very valuable to the continued work and research completed at IUT.

I think that during the data collection phase of this research, Inuit needed to understand clearly the reason for conducting the survey and the benefits of the outcome from the questionnaires. Teachers may have been apprehensive about taking part in 'research' after many years of researchers from the South coming into our communities and studying Inuit as subjects and objects and profiting personally and professionally from activities that were not made clear to the people involved. People taking part in research should feel proud to participate in something designed for the betterment of our language and education, but they must first of all fully understand the purpose. A participant should never walk away from participating in research feeling like something has been taken from them but regrettably, this has happened too often in the past. For that reason the participants were made aware of how to contact me as the researcher and they were free to either ask me to make changes to their responses or ask to withdraw without penalty. Although some participants did not answer all of the questions in the survey, none decided to withdraw. Considering the outcome and the effort expended to encourage participation, I now believe that face-to-face interviews may have allowed for a higher response rate even if the process would have been more time consuming in a different way.

Summary

The use of Inuktut is declining in Nunavut and complacency among Inuit is no longer an option. Action must be taken to reverse language shift, particularly among youth, and to revitalize the use of Inuktut in communities where the decline has been rapid. Many Inuit in Nunavut now recognize that standardization is needed, including the Government of Nunavut, Inuit organizations and businesses. To date, there has been a very limited amount of research completed about the perceptions and attitudes toward variants and dialects in Nunavut (Tulloch, 2005). My research was intended to reveal teachers' perceptions and attitudes toward dialects, and identify which dialect or compromise of dialects would be best accepted as the standard written language in Nunavut. I combined the survey results with my own autoethnographic reflections of a lifetime as a language learner, teacher, and now as language professional along with a consideration of the published literature about the Inuktut language in order to draw some conclusions regarding most promising avenues for promoting a standard form of Inuktut in Nunavut.

CHAPTER FOUR

Analysis and Interpretation of the Teachers' Survey

Socio-Demographic Characteristics of Participants

In total, sixty-seven participants from across Nunavut responded to the online survey or returned the survey by fax. Based on the number of Inuktut speaking teachers identified in Chapter Three, this represents a response rate of approximately 27%. Though the invitation was sent to all the Inuktut speaking teachers in Nunavut, it was extended to language instructors, classroom assistants, principals and vice-principals as well as teachers who are now working in different fields. I estimate that the invitation reached about 300 Inuktut speaking educators and former educators in total.

When considering where the respondents grew up, all communities are represented in the responses. Communities with the highest number of respondents include Baker Lake (nine), Arviat and Igloolik (five), Pangnirtung and Clyde River (four). Seven communities had only one respondent (Cambridge Bay, Chesterfield Inlet, Grise Fiord, Hall Beach, Kuugaruk, Qikiqtarjuaq and Repulse Bay), while others had between two to three respondents. Two respondents indicated they grew up outside of Nunavut.

There is a difference between where participants grew up and where they currently live. This may be explained by the fact that teachers and school staff move to other communities for employment opportunities in larger communities. For instance, there is a high response rate in Iqaluit (fourteen respondents) and Rankin Inlet (eight respondents). In Iqaluit there are four schools including the elementary school in Apex.

Of the fourteen respondents currently living in Iqaluit only two say that is where they grew up. In Rankin Inlet there are three schools. Out of the eight respondents currently living in Rankin Inlet, two say that is where they grew up. This result hints that Inuit educators may be mobile and tend to move towards the regional centers.

There was also a high response from Baker Lake (nine respondents). As mentioned in Chapter One, Baker Lake is a community with multiple dialects. The high response may reflect that the Inuktut speaking teachers in Baker Lake find the topics of dialectal attitudes and standardization important to address as there are several dialects spoken in that community.

The majority of respondents are women (91%), teachers (60%), and are 45 years old or older (61%). Some have a high school diploma or less (32.8%), a college diploma or some college (15%), while almost half have university education (47.8%). The majority has more than 15 years of work experience in schools (54%), while some have between 6 to 15 years of working in the schools (31%).

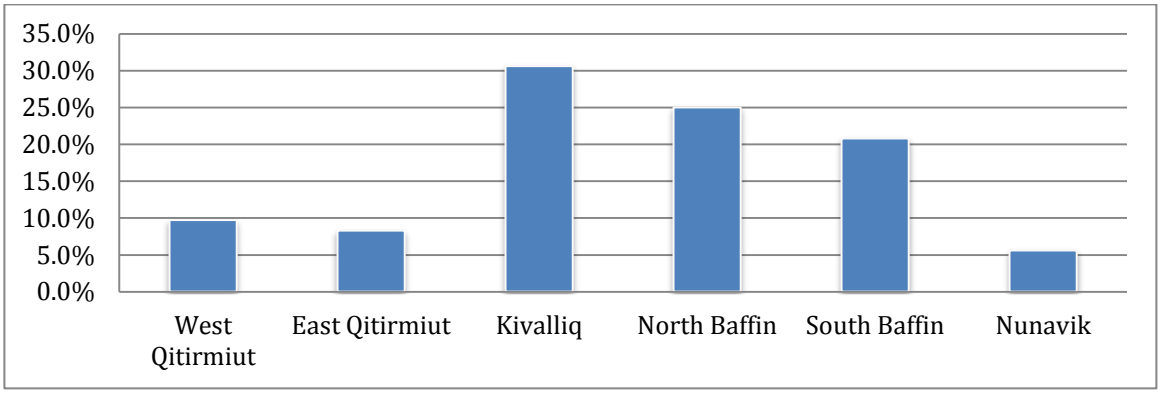

Figure 11. First dialect learned and still understood

It should be noted that the response rate by dialectal groups also reflects the Inuit population in each region (see Chapter One for statistics). When compared to the dialect first learned and still spoken, 45.8% of respondents are from the North or South Baffin

dialect groups, 30.6% from the Kivalliq dialect group, 18% from either the West or East Qitirmiut dialect groups, and 5.6% from the Nunavik dialect group.

Inter-Intelligibility Between Dialects

Perceived closeness of dialects. I asked participants to rate how close they would consider the various dialects of Inuktut in Nunavut to their own. Responses followed a five-point Likert scale from "very close" (5) to "not close at all" (1). I classified average responses as follows:

Very close (5)	4.3 – 5
Close (4)	3.5 – 4.2
Fairly close (3)	2.7 – 3.4
Not very close (2)	1.9 – 2.6
Not close at all (1)	1 – 1.8

	RESPONDENTS					
	West Qitirmiut	East Qitirmiut	Kivalliq	North Baffin	South Baffin	Nunavik
West Qitirmiut Dialect	4.5	3.0	2.4	1.7	1.8	1.3
East Qitirmiut Dialect	3.4	4.2	2.5	1.8	2.2	1.3
Kivalliq Dialect	2.5	2.7	4.7	3.1	3.0	1.7
North Baffin Dialect	2.0	2.0	2.9	4.6	3.7	2.3
South Baffin Dialect	2.3	1.5	2.4	3.2	4.4	2.3
Nunavik Dialect	1.8	1.3	1.9	2.2	2.5	3.8

Figure 12. Closeness of dialects, by dialectal groups

The above table reveals that, on average, no dialect group considers another dialect "very close" to their own. Speakers of South Baffin dialect did seem to consider North Baffin "close" to their own dialect (3.7). Note that, as would be expected, perceptions of dialect closeness are not perfectly reciprocal. Responses from speakers of North Baffin dialect classify South Baffin dialect as "fairly close" (3.2). North Baffin dialect was found to be "fairly close" among Kivalliq respondents with an average of 2.9. The Kivalliq dialect is considered "fairly close" to four dialectal groups, where it

averaged 3.1 among North Baffin respondents, 3.0 among South Baffin respondents, and 2.7 among East Qitirmiut respondents. This perception of relative closeness of the Kivalliq dialect to other dialects may be explained by the fact that the region is geographically central in Nunavut, but may also be explained by the differences within the "Kivalliq" grouping in this survey. The Kivalliq dialect proper is closer to the Qitirmiut dialects, whereas the Aivilik dialect also spoken in the region (but not named on the survey) is closer to the North Baffin dialect.

Proficiency in one's most dominant dialect. I asked participants to rate their reading, listening, reading and writing skills in their most dominant dialect. Responses again followed a five-point Likert scale from "very well" (5) to "No more than a few words or phrases" (1), with averages grouped as follows:

Very well (5)	4.3 – 5
Well (4)	3.5 – 4.2
Fairly well (3)	2.7 – 3.4
Not very well (2)	1.9 – 2.6
No more than a few words or phrases (1)	1 – 1.8

I averaged how well respondents of each dialectal group assessed their proficiency in their dominant dialect, including how well they understand, speak, read and write. As seen in Figure 13, below, most respondents feel confident they can speak well or very well their most dominant dialect, with averages falling in the "very well" range.

Among all dialectal groups, respondents from the West Qitirmiut feel most confident of their abilities in speaking, listening, reading and writing in their own dialect. Given the need for language revitalization in Kugluktuk and Cambridge Bay, respondents from this group are generally educators who are older and required to have strong language skills in their positions. In contrast, other dialectal groups have some younger respondents who may not feel as fully confident in their language skills and

may think they still have much to learn to reach a higher level of proficiency in their dialects.

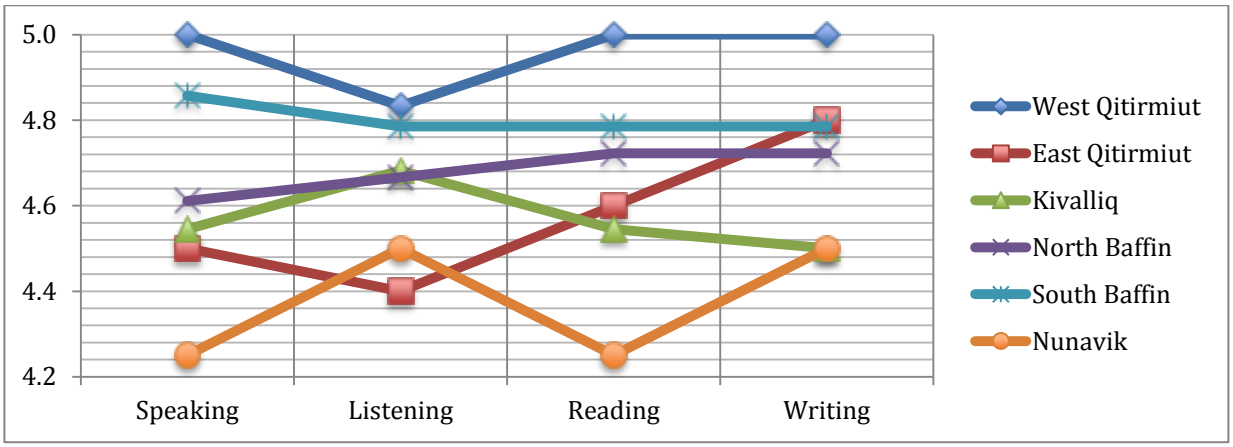

Figure 13. Proficiency in one's most dominant dialect, by dialectal groups

Respondents from the South Baffin dialectal group are the second group that feels the most confident in their language skills, particularly oral skills (with an average of 4.9), but slightly less for listening, reading and writing (with an average of 4.8). On the other hand, respondents from the North Baffin dialectal group feel a bit more confident in their listening, reading and writing skills (with an average of 4.7) than speaking (with an average of 4.6) their dialect.

Respondents from the Kivalliq dialectal group are confident they can listen very well in their dialect with an average of 4.7, but slightly less for speaking, reading and writing (average of 4.5). Respondents from the East Qitirmiut feel more confident in their writing (average of 4.8), reading (average of 4.6) and speaking (average of 4.5) skills, and slightly less for listening (average of 4.4). Respondents from the Nunavik dialectal group reported they can understand and write very well their dialect (average of 4.5), and can speak and read well (average of 4.3).

The overall results of this section of the survey reveal a high level of confidence of all participants with respect to listening, speaking, reading and writing abilities in their own dialects of Inuktut.

Abilities to understand, speak, read and write other dialects. Following the self-assessment of proficiency in their dominant dialect, participants were asked to rate their language competencies in other dialects. This does not constitute a formal assessment of the participants' real competencies, but a subjective evaluation of their listening, speaking, reading and writing skills in other dialects. This information may be useful to determine the willingness of respondents in trying to understand or use other dialects. Dialects that may be more easily understood by a wide range of speakers may be perceived as being more adequate to be chosen as a standard form than those dialects that are less well understood by a majority of speakers.

After I averaged the responses of all respondents for each dialect, an interesting pattern emerges. As seen in the following figure, listening and reading skills for each dialect rate higher than writing and speaking skills. This may indicate that the respondents may be more passively bidialectal than actively bidialectal.

Louis-Jacques Dorais commented on a similar pattern for residents of Qaanaaq in northern Greenland. Although the Southwest dialect of Greenlandic is the official standard taught in schools and used in communications and media, Dorais reported that Qaanaarmiut are generally passive bidialectals in the standard. They are able to understand and read the official dialect, but continue to speak with greater comfort in their own dialect at home and in the community (Dorais, 1990). This also fits with Joshua Fishman's observations made at the start of this thesis that the standard complements, and does not replace, speakers' first dialects.

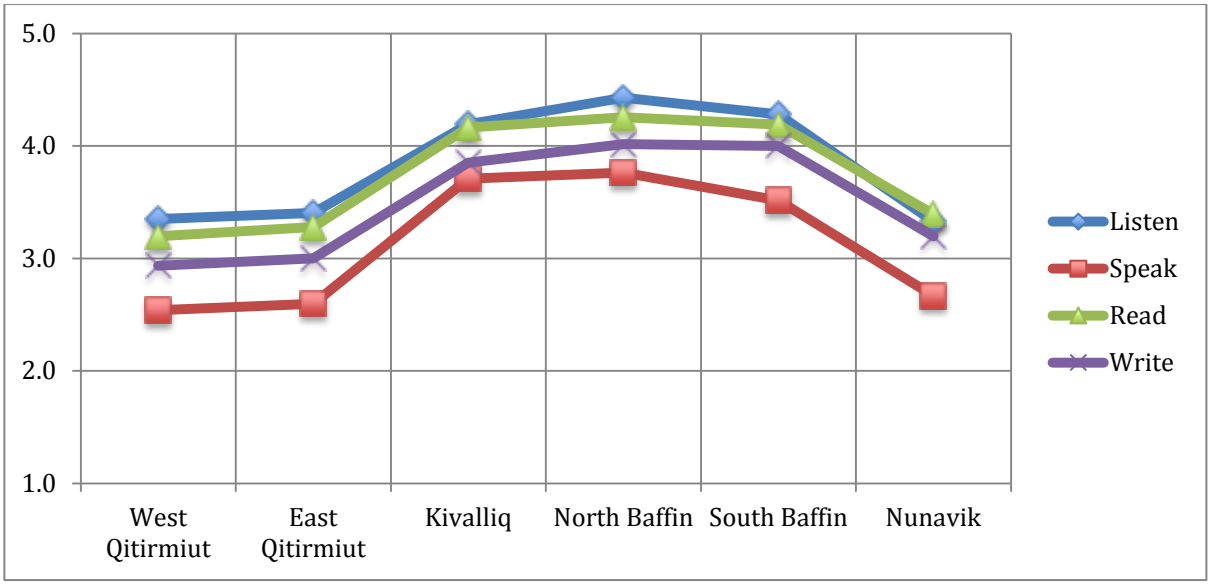

Figure 14. Ability to understand, speak, read and write other dialects

If a standard was to be chosen for Nunavut school materials, I think we could expect that students would acquire a reasonable understanding of the standard, and still be able to continue to speak their own community dialect. This is a very important point that needs to be made available widely as part of the information that will be helpful when making decisions about the standardization of Inuktut.

The survey data reveals that most respondents seem to be able to understand and read Inuktut in the North Baffin dialect (averaging 4.4 and 4.3 respectively), while they can write and, to a lesser extent, speak it well (averaging 4.0 and 3.8 respectively). The Kivalliq dialect comes next as respondents reported on an average they can both understand and read it well (4.2), write it well (3.9) and speak it well (3.7). This is followed by the South Baffin dialect which averaged "very well" for understanding (4.3), and "well" for reading (4.2), writing (4.0), and for speaking (3.5). The East Qitirmiut, West Qitirmiut and Nunavik dialects are on the lower end and averaged "fairly well" among the respondents. These results indicate that overall North Baffin

dialect is slightly better understood than the other dialects, followed closely by the Kivalliq dialect, and the South Baffin dialect.

To better understand these patterns, I averaged the responses for each dialectal group. The next series of tables summarize this information. To help read them, I coded the ratings in color, by highlighting “very well” and “well” in green, and “fairly well” in yellow. Ratings on one’s own dialect are coded in blue.

Again, when we look at intelligibility between dialects, we find that dialectal groups report it is easier to understand what others are saying and to read other dialects, while writing and speaking other dialects provides more of a challenge for most groups. This reflects our initial finding where respondents reported being more comfortable with passive language skills (listening, reading) than active language skills (writing, speaking).

As seen before, respondents from most dialectal groups are comfortable or fairly comfortable understanding what others are saying in other dialects, with the exceptions of East Qitirmiut respondents who seem to be struggling more to understand the Nunavik dialect, and reciprocally for Nunavik respondents who reported not being very comfortable in understanding the West Qitirmiut, East Qitirmiut and Kivalliq dialects.

LISTENING	RESPONDENTS					
	West Qitirmiut	East Qitirmiut	Kivalliq	North Baffin	South Baffin	Nunavik
West Qitirmiut Dialect	5.0	3.8	3.0	2.8	2.8	2.0
East Qitirmiut Dialect	4.1	4.6	3.2	2.8	3.0	2.0
Kivalliq Dialect	3.1	3.8	4.9	3.5	3.7	2.3
North Baffin Dialect	3.0	3.0	3.6	4.9	4.5	4.0
South Baffin Dialect	3.0	2.8	3.5	4.3	4.8	4.3
Nunavik Dialect	2.7	2.2	2.8	3.3	3.8	4.7

READING	RESPONDENTS					
	West Qitirmiut	East Qitirmiut	Kivalliq	North Baffin	South Baffin	Nunavik
West Qitirmiut Dialect	5.0	3.6	3.0	2.6	2.4	2.0
East Qitirmiut Dialect	4.0	4.4	3.1	2.7	2.8	1.7
Kivalliq Dialect	2.7	3.6	4.9	3.8	3.6	2.0
North Baffin Dialect	2.4	2.6	3.6	4.9	4.4	3.5
South Baffin Dialect	2.4	2.4	3.6	4.4	4.9	3.5
Nunavik Dialect	2.0	2.0	2.7	3.3	4.0	4.5

WRITING	RESPONDENTS					
	West Qitirmiut	East Qitirmiut	Kivalliq	North Baffin	South Baffin	Nunavik
West Qitirmiut Dialect	5.0	3.7	2.8	2.2	1.8	1.3
East Qitirmiut Dialect	3.7	4.4	2.9	2.3	2.2	1.5
Kivalliq Dialect	2.6	3.8	4.7	3.2	3.0	1.5
North Baffin Dialect	2.3	2.6	3.4	4.8	3.9	2.8
South Baffin Dialect	2.1	2.4	3.3	4.3	4.8	2.8
Nunavik Dialect	2.1	2.2	2.9	2.8	3.3	4.5

SPEAKING	RESPONDENTS					
	West Qitirmiut	East Qitirmiut	Kivalliq	North Baffin	South Baffin	Nunavik
West Qitirmiut Dialect	5.0	2.8	2.3	1.9	1.8	1.3
East Qitirmiut Dialect	3.9	4.0	2.5	1.9	2.0	1.3
Kivalliq Dialect	2.3	3.4	5.0	2.9	2.8	1.7
North Baffin Dialect	2.1	2.4	2.9	4.8	3.7	3.0
South Baffin Dialect	2.1	1.8	2.7	3.5	4.7	3.0
Nunavik Dialect	2.0	1.6	2.2	2.3	2.9	4.3

Figure 15. Ability to listen, speak, read and write other dialects, by dialectal groups

The North Baffin dialect averaged “very well” or “well” in being understood among South Baffin respondents (4.5), Nunavik respondents (4.0) and Kivalliq respondents (3.6). It is also fairly well understood among West Qitirmiut respondents (3.0) and East Qitirmiut respondents (3.0).

The South Baffin dialect averaged “very well” in being understood among North Baffin respondents (4.3) and Nunavik respondents (4.3) and “well” among Kivalliq respondents (3.5). It is also fairly well understood among the West Qitirmiut respondents (3.0) and East Qitirmiut respondents (2.8).

The Kivalliq dialect averaged “well” in being understood among East Qitirmiut respondents (3.8), South Baffin respondents (3.7) and North Baffin respondents (3.5). It is also fairly well understood among West Qitirmiut respondents (3.1).

The West Qitirmiut and East Qitirmiut dialects are reciprocally well understood by their respective respondents, and fairly well understood by others, except for Nunavik respondents. The Nunavik dialect is well understood only among the South Baffin respondents.

We can see that most dialectal groups report good abilities to understand what others are saying in some other dialects and to read documents written in some other dialects, particularly when these are neighboring dialects.

The different writing systems used by West Qitirmiut respondents (roman orthography) and others dialectal groups (syllabics) seem to have an impact on how well respondents can read other dialects. Since most dialects use syllabics, it is not a surprise to find out that West Qitirmiut respondents reported that they struggle when reading the Nunavik, South and North Baffin dialects (averaging 2.1, 2.4 and 2.4 respectively).

Their perceived ability to read Kivalliq dialect fell into the "fairly well" category (2.7). They also reported they can read well in the East Qitirmiut dialect (4.0).

Differences in vocabulary, grammar and spelling may also be factors. For instance, East Qitirmiut respondents reported not being able to read very well the South Baffin and Nunavik dialects, while they reported more confidence reading in the West Qitirmiut and Kivalliq dialects. This may be explained by the fact that they are neighboring dialects. West Qitirmiut, East Qitirmiut, and Kivalliq dialects have more common words and grammar rules than with dialects from the Baffin or Nunavik regions. The closer a dialect is to the respondents' own dialect, the better their abilities to understand and read it. Familiarity and regular exposure to other dialects would also have an impact. Nunavut is divided into three administrative regions, and over time dialects in each region would have had more interactions with each other than with dialects from other regions.

When looking at how well respondents can write in other dialects, only immediately neighboring dialects usually rate well. For instance, West Qitirmiut respondents reported they can write well the East Qitirmiut dialect (3.7), while East Qitirmiut respondents reported they can write well both the West Qitirmiut dialect (3.7) and Kivalliq dialect (3.8). North Baffin respondents reported writing well in the South Baffin dialect (4.3), while South Baffin respondents can write well in the North Baffin dialect (3.9).

As discussed before, respondents feel less comfortable in speaking dialects other than their own. In general, they may be able to say a few things in other dialects that are geographically closer to their own, but not so much with dialects that are geographically distant.

Inter-intelligibility in practice. To understand better how intelligibility plays out in real life, I also asked participants about their language practices when they meet with others who speak a different dialect, which language version of a document they prefer to read, and to what extent they read a document written in different dialects.

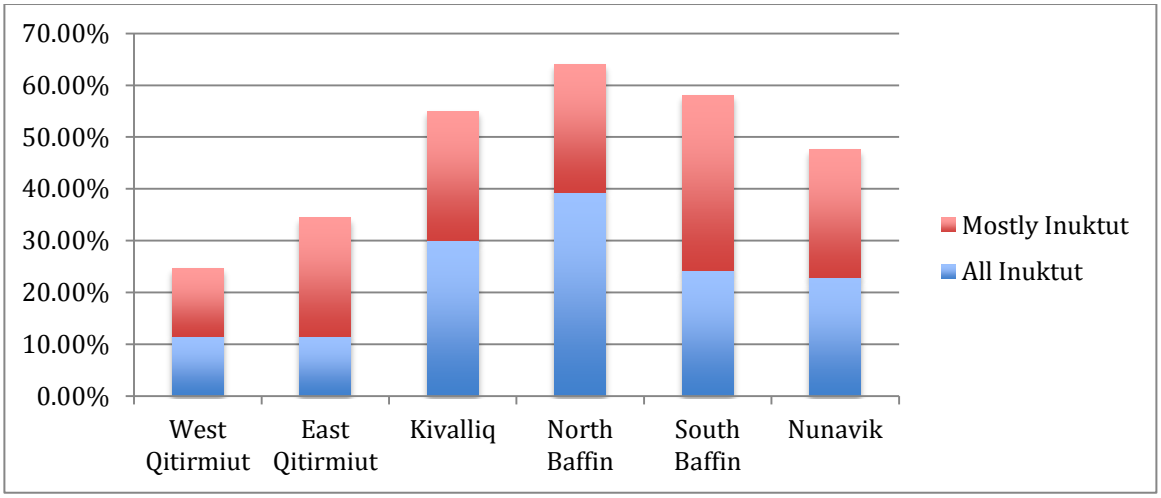

Figure 16. Speaking always or mostly Inuktut with others

When asked how much Inuktut they speak with others who have a different regional variant or dialect than theirs, a majority of respondents reported speaking all Inuktut or mostly Inuktut when this dialect is North Baffin (63.9%), South Baffin (58.1%) or Kivalliq (55%).

As seen in the above figure, when speaking to users of the West Qitirmiut and East Qitirmiut dialects, respondents are less likely to conduct or continue a conversation all in Inuktut.

When looking at the data "never had the opportunity before", all dialects have relatively good exposure for most respondents, although several respondents reported

they had never had the opportunity to converse with someone speaking the Nunavik dialect.

My survey of Inuktut speaking teachers in Nunavut, all of whom are exposed to Inuktut reading materials on a daily basis, may not reflect the reality of other Inuktut speaking professionals whether they be interpreters, translators or employees of the GN or private businesses. I asked participants which version of bilingual Inuktut/English versions of a document they read most often.

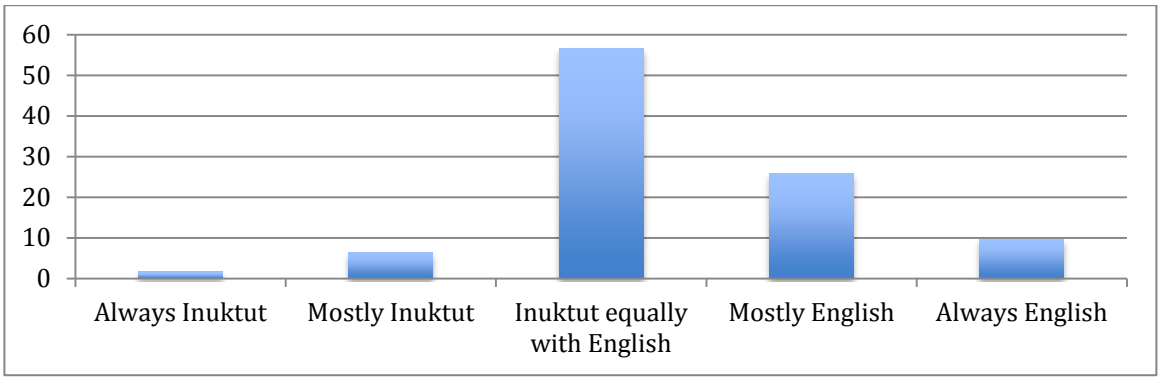

Figure 17. Reading Inuktut/English documents

The majority of respondents (56.5%) reported they prefer to read in Inuktut equally with English. Very few respondents indicated they always or mostly read Inuktut documents (8%), while over a third of the respondents always or mostly read the English version of a document (35.5%).

I asked participants to comment on their choices. Those who read equally Inuktut with English commented that they like comparing both language versions of documents to ensure they are understandable and well translated. Some commented that documents are often written in English first, but that they do check the translation for comprehension. They like to read both language versions, and also pay close attention to the use of the standardized Inuktitut writing system. When it is important, they will read

English first, because it is also easier and faster, but will also read the Inuktitut to understand more when they did not understand the English version. One respondent summarized this view by commenting,

> "I like to read both as I get a clearer picture when I read them both. When I read only one language (depending on which language it was initiated) I may not get the whole picture or, the translation may be incorrect. I often ask which language a document has been written first so I get a better meaning."

Respondents who prefer to read mostly or always in English qualified their answers with words such as "quicker", "faster", and "easier" when referring to English, while being "slow Inuktitut reader" or being "lazy to read in Inuktitut". It was explained that, "English versions tend to be shorter. There seem to be more explanations needed in Inuktitut."

The reliability of the information is an important factor when explaining why teachers read in English. A couple respondents commented that "Inuktitut translations are badly translated and hard to understand" and that "the quality of translation is always iffy; I read English because I trust the quality of information in English." It may also be that teachers are more comfortable reading in English, or prefer to read curriculum materials in English as a result of "habit" from former all-English schooling.

Of particular interest for my research, respondents also commented preferring reading in English because of dialectal differences. A couple of respondents commented that most Inuktut versions of documents are in the Baffin dialect(s), and a couple indicated difficulties in understanding other dialects. One respondent also commented "most school materials are in English therefore need translation into our dialect."

The next question focused on determining which regional variant or dialect would be read most often by the respondents.

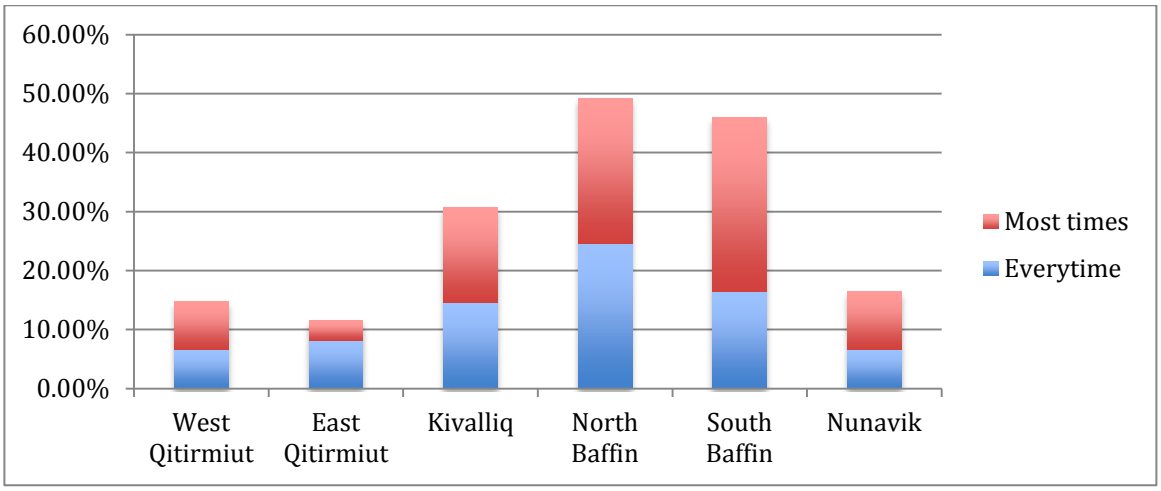

Figure 18. Reading a document written in another dialect

Documents written in the North Baffin, South Baffin and, to some extent, Kivalliq dialects are more likely to be read by a greater number of respondents, as indicated in the above figure. Very few respondents they would read documents written in the Nunavik, West Qitirmiut and East Qitirmiut dialects.

Summary. In summary, in this section no particular dialect is perceived to be very close to another one. While the Kivalliq dialect may be perceived to be fairly close to most dialects, due to its central location and diversity within this dialectal grouping, overall respondents reported that they understand and read better the North Baffin dialect, followed closely by the South Baffin dialect and Kivalliq dialect.

It is interesting that respondents are more passive users of other dialects. They generally can understand well what others are saying in other dialects and can read well to some extent documents written in dialects from neighboring regions. Results show

that respondents tend not to be active users of other dialects, meaning they generally can't speak and write other dialects very well.

There is, however, a trend that emerges in the responses received; a majority of respondents confirm that they converse most times with speakers from North Baffin, South Baffin and Kivalliq, and would read often documents written in North and South Baffin dialects.

Attitudes Toward Dialects

As mentioned in the first chapter, self-reported intelligibility with other regional variants or dialects may be the result of linguistic factors, but also the result of respondents' perceptions of which dialect is perceived or accepted as more prestigious, traditional and useful (Fishman, 1997; Grenoble & Whaley, 2006). For this reason, my survey also included questions assessing these attitudes.

Dialects most pleasant to listen to. To find out which dialect is considered most pleasant to listen to, I asked the participants to rank their answers from most pleasant (1) to least pleasant (6).

There is no clear choice among all respondents. On a scale of 1 to 6, most dialects ranked in the middle range on the scale, which would suggest that dialects are somewhat pleasant to listen to. For instance, the most preferred dialect, Kivalliq, averaged 3.08 on the scale, followed by the West Qitirmiut (3.21), North Baffin (3.25), East Qitirmiut (3.33), South Baffin (3.72) and Nunavik (4.41) dialects.

The results are quite different when looking at the distribution of dialects perceived as most pleasant by each individual dialectal group. As seen in the next table, most groups ranked their own dialect as most pleasant to listen to. This shows how strongly respondents feel about their own dialects and other ones.

West Qitirmiut		East Qitirmiut		Kivalliq		North Baffin		South Baffin		Nunavik	
WQ	1.71	**WQ**	2.50	KV	1.78	NB	2.18	SB	2.27	SB	2.75
EQ	2.57	NV	2.75	**EQ**	3.22	**EQ**	3.47	NB	2.73	**WQ**	2.75
KV	3.43	**KV**	3.00	**WQ**	3.28	**WQ**	3.47	**EQ**	3.55	**KV**	3.50
SB	4.14	EQ	3.50	NB	3.89	SB	3.59	WQ	3.55	NB	3.75
NB	4.43	SB	4.50	NV	4.22	KV	3.94	KV	3.55	NV	4.00
NV	4.71	NB	4.75	SB	4.61	NV	4.35	NV	5.36	EQ	4.25

Figure 19. Dialects most pleasant to listen to, by dialectal groups (Lower numbers indicate top rankings.)

There are two exceptions to the pattern described above. East Qitirmiut and Nunavik respondents did not choose their own dialects among the top three most pleasant dialects to listen to, but rather ranked neighboring dialects at the top (West Qitirmiut or South Baffin respectively), and then ranked dialects that are geographically far from them (Nunavik and West Qitirmiut respectively) as second most pleasant to listen to. It may be that most Nunavummiut do not get a chance to listen to the Sanikiluaq dialect as often as they do the other dialects as Sanikiluaq is so far south. Few people get the opportunity to travel to Sanikiluaq, whereas many have opportunities to travel to other communities and be exposed to the other dialects. The Qitirmiut dialect is the most conservative dialect of all the dialects in Nunavut and that may contribute to perceptions that it is most pleasant to listen to.

It is also interesting to note that the West Qitirmiut and East Qitirmiut dialects ranked among the top three most pleasant dialects to listen to for a majority of dialectal groups, and to a lesser extent the Kivalliq dialect. Since these dialects are generally considered more conservative, where traditional pronunciation and grammar are still maintained, they may be perceived as closer to the old ways of speaking Inuktut.

Region perceived as having "best" Inuktut. I then endeavoured to find out in which region the respondents think people speak the best Inuktut. I asked them to rank all dialects from 1 to 6 with the "Best" Inuktut spoken ranked as 1.

The North Baffin region received an average ranking of 2.28 among all respondents, which would make it the top region where people are thought to speak the best Inuktut in Nunavut. The Kivalliq region received the second best averaged ranking at 2.97, followed by South Baffin at 3.35. Other regions West and East Qitirmiut and Sanikiluaq ranked above 4 indicating that the respondents did not feel they speak the best Inuktut. This is a very interesting finding, as in the previous question Qitirmiut and Sanikiluaq ranked highly when asked which dialect is most pleasant to listen to.

Like the previous question, I also looked at averages by dialectal groups. Again, most respondents from each group chose their own region as having the best Inuktut, except for East Qitirmiut where they think Kivalliq region speak the best Inuktut and Nunavik respondents thought North Baffin speak the best Inuktut.

West Qitirmiut		East Qitirmiut		Kivalliq		North Baffin		South Baffin		Nunavik	
WQ	2.43	**KV**	2.50	KV	2.11	NB	1.47	SB	2.08	**NB**	2.00
EQ	2.43	EQ	3.25	**NB**	2.39	**KV**	3.47	**NB**	2.17	NV	2.75
KV	3.29	**NB**	3.25	SB	3.61	SB	3.47	**KV**	3.42	SB	3.25
NB	3.57	NV	3.50	NV	4.06	NV	4.00	NV	4.08	KV	3.50
SB	4.00	WQ	4.00	WQ	4.39	WQ	4.07	WQ	4.42	WQ	4.50
NV	5.29	SB	4.50	EQ	4.44	EQ	4.53	EQ	4.83	EQ	5.00

Figure 20. Perceived "best" Inuktut, by dialectal groups

North Baffin was among the top three regions selected by a majority of dialectal groups as the region with the best dialect, with an average ranking of 2.00 from Nunavik

respondents, 2.08 from South Baffin respondents, 2.11 from Kivalliq respondents, and 3.25 from East Qitirmiut respondents.

The Kivalliq dialect was also highly esteemed, averaging 2.50 among East Qitirmiut respondents, and slightly less esteemed among West Qitirmiut respondents (3.29), Kivalliq respondents (3.47) and South Baffin respondents (3.42).

Learning another dialect to keep Inuktut strong. As some of the communities in all of the regions are facing rapid language loss, I felt it was important to ask the participants to what extent they would agree to learn another dialect if it meant that the Inuit language would stay strong. Fifty-five participants responded to the question while twelve skipped it.

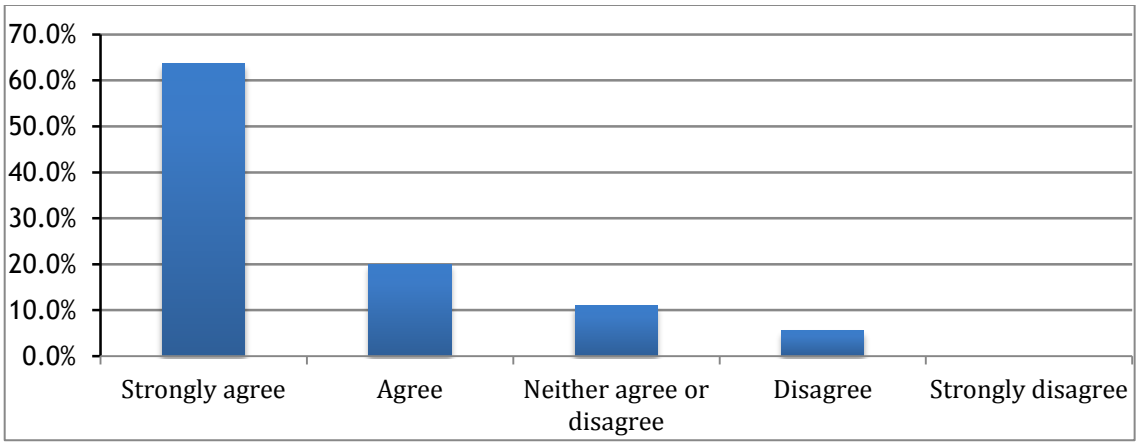

Figure 21. Learning another dialect to keep Inuktut strong

The vast majority (83.6%) of the respondents strongly agreed or agreed with learning another dialect if it would mean that Inuktut will stay strong. Only a few disagreed (5.5%) with this statement, while 10.9% neither agreed nor disagreed. This means that though teachers feel a strong attachment to their own dialect, they are willing to learn another dialect to ensure that the Inuit language stays strong. This indicates that the majority of the teachers feel strongly about the survival of the language. This may be

because they are seeing the decline in use and quality of the language. This seems to show that these teachers are willing to make a compromise in learning another dialect.

To illustrate what this might mean for teachers, in June 2012 I had an opportunity to meet fellow Inuit linguists from Russia, Alaska, Canada and Greenland at a research development meeting organized by ICC Canada in Ottawa. I was most impressed with the testimony of one particular individual, a Yup'ik from Alaska, who had lost his language and re-learned it as an adult attending a University. He is now a Ph.D. Yup'ik professor, teaching Yugtun to university students. His recounting of his experience was moving. He said his language was physically beaten out of him going through a residential school. For many years he was revolted just by hearing his lost language being spoken, but as an adult he decided that he would relearn his language and not have the residential school take this away from him permanently. At University he took Yugtun classes and though the dialect he was learning was not the dialect his parents spoke, he was happy to learn and speak his language. He said there were only ninety people left that spoke his mother's dialect (Charles Walkie, personal communication, June 20, 2012). He now teaches Yugtun to undergraduate students, and teaches dialectal variations in the upper years.

Speaking English versus speaking another dialect. Following the question that asked if respondents are willing to learn another dialect, I felt this question was necessary as through personal observation I have noticed many people switching to English when speaking with someone from another dialect. I asked the respondents to what extent they agree with the following statement: "I would rather speak English than speak in a different regional variant or dialect of Inuktut".

54.7% of the respondents strongly disagreed or disagreed with this statement, and only 9.5% reported they would rather speak English than speak in a different dialect. Over a third of the respondents neither agreed or disagreed with this statement, or did not know how to respond.

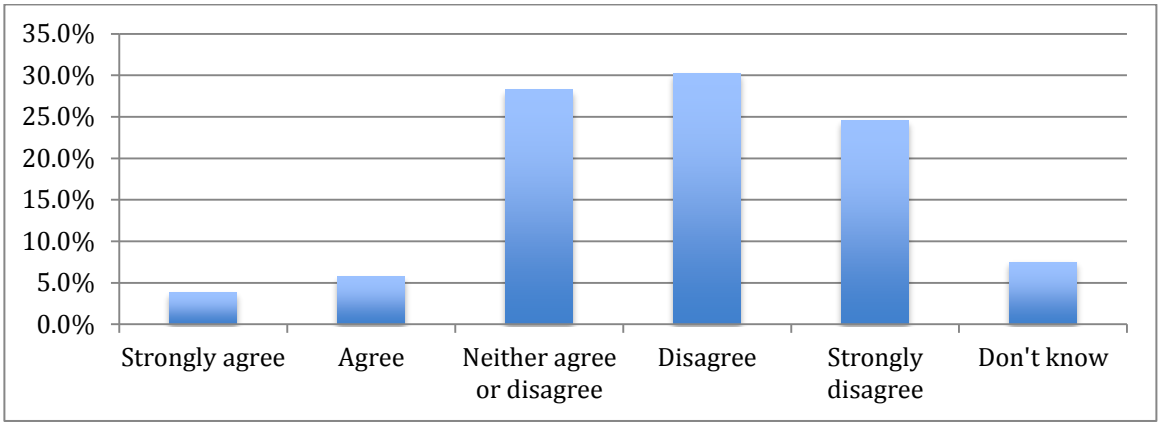

Figure 22. Would rather speak English than another dialect

This finding indicates that a little over half of the teachers would rather not speak English with speakers of other dialects, and may be relatively favorable to speaking in a different dialect of Inuktut than their own. This finding also indicates a number of respondents are indifferent to the question or do not know.

Summary. In summary, respondents have strongest positive attitudes toward their own dialects. Beyond these, respondents tend to find western dialects most pleasant to listen to. This may be interpreted with the fact that these dialects still retain traditional features that are lost in eastern dialects of Inuktut. When asked in which region people speak the best Inuktut, data points to North Baffin, and to a lesser extent Kivalliq. This may be due to the fact that not only is North Baffin often perceived as the cultural center of Nunavut, where both traditional life and modern life have been embraced (oral history project, films, music, circus), but its dialect is also well documented (Dorais, 1990,

2010; Tulloch, 2005), is still used today by the Inuit children and is also heard often on the radio and television.

I also saw that the respondents are very supportive to the idea of learning another dialect if it would mean that Inuktut would stay strong. This is an important finding for the work on standardization. In the next section, I will explore the more specific questions of standardization of teaching materials, and which dialect, if any, would be best suited as a standard for this purpose.

Standardizing Inuktut

Standardizing teaching materials. After inquiring about personal beliefs and opinions on dialectal difference, the survey investigated on a professional level when it asked the teachers to what extent they agree with choosing a standard dialect of Inuktut for teaching materials in Nunavut, and to explain in a few words their answers.

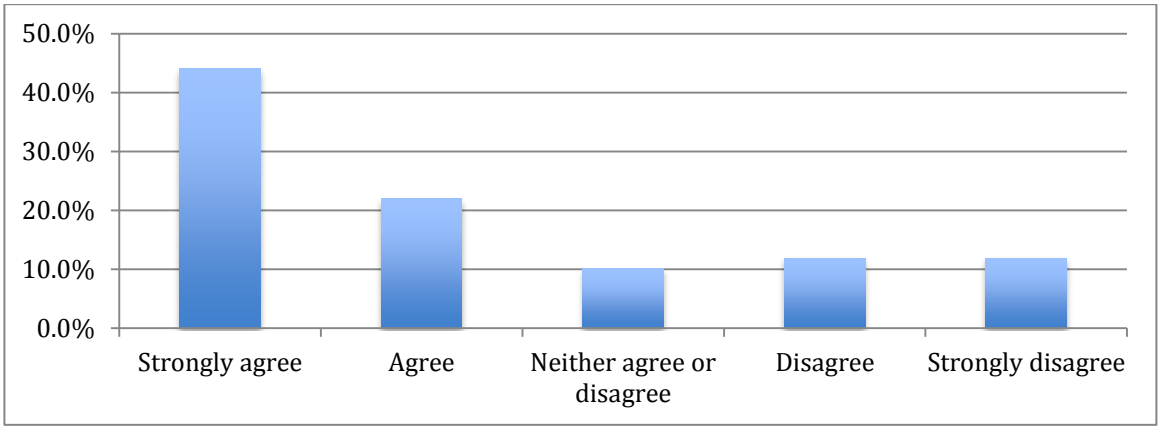

Figure 23. Standardizing teaching materials

A majority of respondents (66%) strongly agreed or agreed in choosing a standard dialect of Inuktut for teaching materials. About 24% disagreed or strongly disagreed with this statement, while about 10% did not have an opinion.

Those who agreed with choosing a standard dialect for teaching materials commented that a standard Inuktut is needed as teachers need more support with teaching materials, and that it would also help increase the use of Inuktut everywhere in daily life. It was argued that a standard Inuktut would help prevent language erosion and keep our language alive and strong, while contributing to saving money and time in the production of teaching materials.

Adopting a standard Inuktut would also strengthen our language while supporting the preservation of dialects, just like in Greenland:

> "It is time that we standardize a working Inuktitut dialect before our language erodes. If we standardize our language we would save a lot of money as well. If we standardize a working dialect it wouldn't mean losing our dialect. Some people are just wasting their time complaining, wanting to keep their dialect."

With so many dialectal variations, one respondent felt that there is no consistency, which impacts teaching Inuktut in the schools. This person believes that a standard Inuktut would further help increase language proficiency of students in their mother tongue all across Nunavut:

> "Until we standardize, Inuktitut will not be consistent. Plus with one voice, our language will be stronger. With too many variations, there is no consistency. By standardizing, Inuktitut should be at the same level in all communities. Right now, all communities teach Inuktitut but in all different levels. Strong Inuktitut communities tend to teach better compared to weak Inuktitut (which may be suitable - to their level but very low compared to others)."

Another suggested that a standard Inuktut would help promote common standardized terminology, which would make reading materials easier, particularly in new and non-traditional domains:

> "I think we should distinguish between traditional terms used in communities (which spelling should be standardized) and Nunavut-wide non-indigenous subjects should be standardized (science, maths, admin. politics, etc.)."

Lastly, it was suggested that standardization may be best achieved by adopting a standard in each region as way to protect and preserve "minority dialects":

> "I think that it would be best if there was a regional standardization for Inuktitut instead of territorial standardization of Inuktitut. This should be so because of minority dialects will become lost. A dramatic change in dialect will confuse a student and not learn the foundation of the language."

At the other end, respondents who did not agree with a standard Inuktut for teaching materials commented that standardization is "the English way" of dealing with language. They "want their dialect to stay strong." "It is easier for life to speak and read your own language," and "show respect to their ancestors, elders and region." At best, standardization could be supported at the regional, or at the community level. It was suggested it would be best that "teaching materials [be] made up by each community", or be made available in English to the schools, as some teachers may find the Arviat dialect too difficult to understand (the Nunavut Department of Education's Curriculum Development Headquarter is located in Arviat).

Dialect(s) most suitable as a standard.

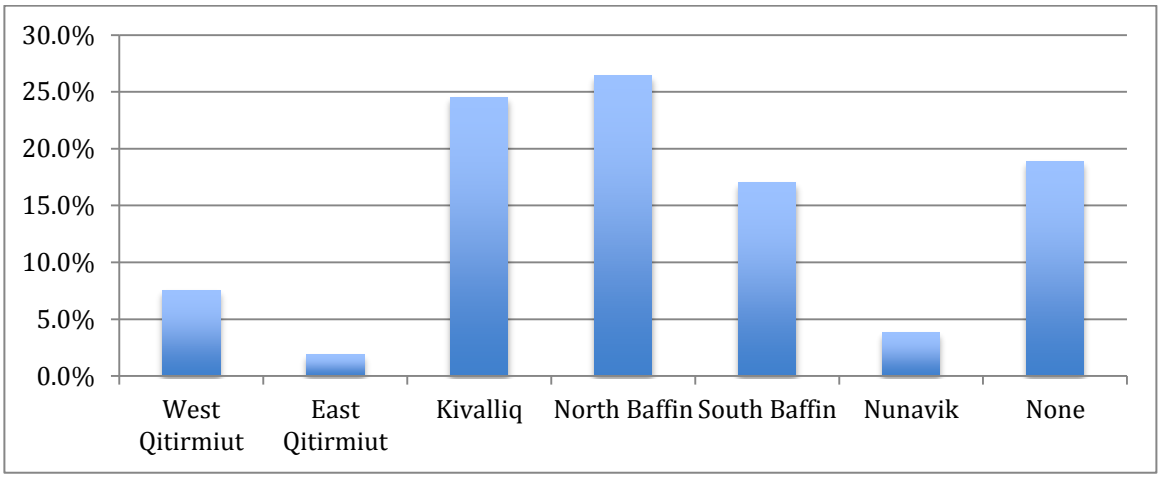

Figure 24. Choosing a standard dialect for teaching materials

I then asked the participants which variant or dialect would be most suitable for language of instruction and material development for schools in Nunavut. As we saw in the "best" dialect spoken, most respondents favored their own dialect to be the standard for teaching materials. As seen in the figure above, North Baffin and Kivalliq dialects come at the top with 26.4% and 24.5% of respondents, respectively, who think that dialect is the most suitable for teaching materials, followed by South Baffin (17%) dialect. It should be noted that 18.9% of respondents believe that no single dialect should or could be used a standard for school materials.

Those who chose the Kivalliq dialect said that "it is the easiest to learn," "is in the middle," and "seems most uniform with other dialects." One respondent said, "I choose Kivalliq because I am able to understand the different dialects in the Kivalliq with no problem. I am also open to North or South Baffin especially because Inuktut in some of the communities is often used and still strong up to today." One South Baffin respondent also chose Kivalliq.

Two South Baffin respondents chose the North Baffin dialect stating that, “their dialect has not changed a whole lot so I agree with this dialect. South Baffin dialect has gone through a lot of change as they have started to follow other dialects. North Baffin speakers speak very well” and the other saying, “North Baffin (Qikiqtani) has one of the strongest Inuktitut. It would be terrible to start off with a weak dialect (Qitirmiut) that already has lost much of the language. As educators we tend to start with the strengths and work on the weak part.” Other comments on choosing this dialect noted “there are more speakers” in the region and they “seem to be the most fluent and most experienced speakers” and that “Inuit speak mostly in Inuktitut and the children speak their dialect.”

Among those choosing the South Baffin and Nunavik dialects, statements included, “since many people listen to the radio for South Baffin dialect and many people come to Iqaluit, it would be most appropriate” and that “South Baffin and Nunavik are very similar.”

Preserving local and regional dialects are mentioned as reasons for not selecting a single dialect as the standard. One stated that “there should be room for any reading materials to have teacher to print books or material in their particular dialect, especially in the light of computer technology” and another saying, “I am a strong believer in preserving local dialects, where I think standardized grammar based instruction should happen is in non-indigenous subjects.”

One respondent said, “we need to work together and agree on a standard to make our teaching materials stronger for all the schools.”

One writing system. I asked participants if they would agree that eventually there should be only one writing system in Nunavut. 48.3% of respondents strongly agreed and agreed to this question stating that “making materials will be easier” and that

"until we have one writing system, we will not be able to access to other materials/documents that have been produced already by Greenland for example." This respondent went on to say that "good information/history have already been produced but we can't read or access them as they are not in one writing system."

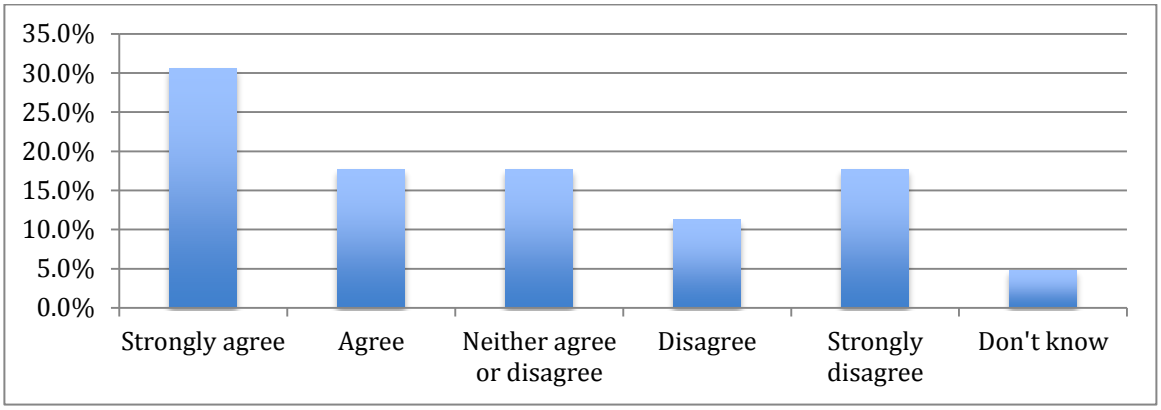

Figure 25. Choosing one writing system for Nunavut

Another respondent said that s/he prefers syllabics but "would be open to roman as well" being able to read either. Many said that by having one writing system our language will be "strengthened." While some preferred to see roman orthography as "it can be used by all dialects" as the writing system some stated they would like to see syllabics because it is "unique" and "it is attached to our Inuit identity." One suggested that "roman be taught to the lower grades and syllabics be optional to the higher grades" going on to say that "learning centers should offer teaching roman orthography for adults to re-enforce a policy of teaching inuktut in the schools for their children."

Among those who disagreed or strongly disagreed (29%), respondents linked the writing system to dialectal preservation. One respondent said "unless there is a fool proof way of preserving dialects then Inuktitut will suffer" and another said that having one writing system "would be like having one time zone in Nunavut, there will be no

success." One respondent said "I do not agree to give up my language for another dialect" assuming that having one writing system is the same as choosing one standard dialect.

People who neither agreed nor disagreed or did not know (25.5%) also linked having one writing system to dialects saying that "there are too many dialects" and that "their dialect is so different from other dialects" that choosing a writing system "would be kind of hard". One asked, "isn't our writing system 'the' same with just different dialects?"

Looking at some of the comments there seems to be some misunderstanding between choosing one writing system and dialectal preservation. Some attitudes seem to be based on a lack of information and understanding of the issues.

To try to provide precise information about which writing system the Government of Nunavut should choose, I asked the participants their preference. As seen in the comments on choosing a standard for teaching materials and choosing a writing system it is unsurprising that 69% of the respondents chose syllabics over roman orthography. This may also be because twenty-three out of the twenty-five communities in Nunavut already use syllabics.

Having said that, with 31% choosing roman orthography a substantial number are supporting this option given that the population using roman orthography is rather small. One teacher wrote, "When I was teaching in elementary school, I was testing which writing system would be learned faster. Writing in roman orthography was faster than syllabics. Students loved it and find finals that written in R.O. was faster and easier."

Using "Inuktut" to designate all dialects.

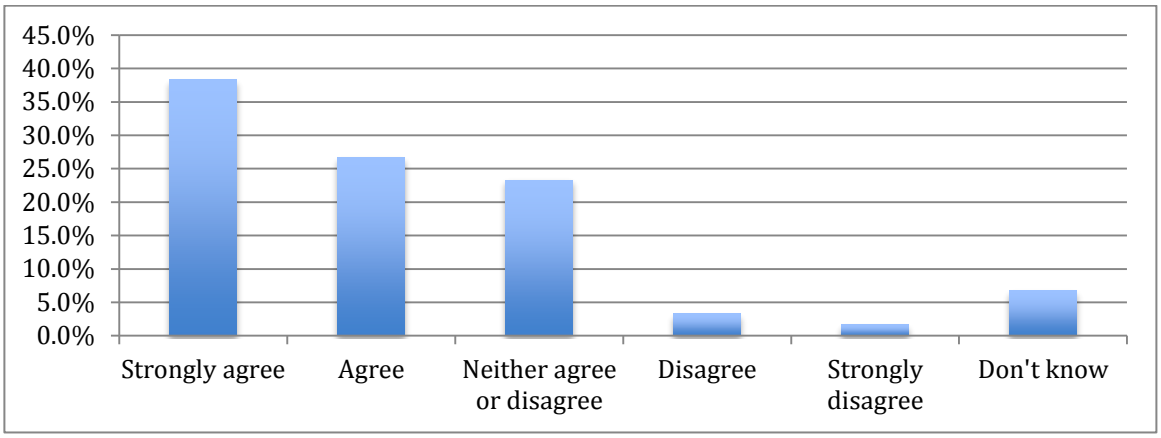

Figure 26. Using "Inuktut" to designate all dialects

About 60% strongly agree or agree that Inuktut should be used to designate all dialects in Nunavut. Up to now, within the Government of Nunavut when talking about the Inuit language, Inuinnaqtun/Inuktitut has been used. At one point, then Member of Legislative Assembly Leona Aglukkaq, now the Member of Parliament for Nunavut asked why her dialect Nattilingmiutut is not mentioned while Inuinnaqtun is. This was the time when MLA Joe Allen Evyagotailak suggested Inuktut be used to refer to all dialects of the Inuit language. As mentioned in Chapter One, there are seven major dialectal groups in Nunavut and only Inuinnaqtun and Inuktitut have been used up to now within the Government of Nunavut.

Comments from participants on standardization. At the end of the questionnaire participants were given a chance to add any other comments they may have on the standardization of Inuktut and the dialectal diversity of Inuktut in Nunavut. Many of the comments were placed under standardizing teaching materials, choosing a dialect for teaching materials and choosing a writing system while many comments were reiterations of comments shared in the mentioned categories.

Those in favor of standardization stated, “if we standardize Inuktitut, each community should keep their original dialect but use the standard dialect for work, school, church, etc” and “Some people may not want to change their present situation, but we should look at standardization to make Inuktitut consistent/accountable to make it a strong united language” and “I just wish to speed up standardizing our language into one working dialect that all can use… I believe that one day we will have to use one working dialect for Nunavummiut.” This reminded me of a comment from Bertha Iglookyouak, one of our cohort members in the 2013 Nunavut Master of Education Program who said, “everyone in Nunavut uses the same Bible, written in the North Baffin dialect but when it is used in the community it is used in their own dialect.”

Summary. In summary, there is good support among teachers to the idea of adopting a standard for the production of teaching materials in Inuktut. Generally, they see this as a way to provide teachers with more help, by providing them the teaching tools they need to effectively do their job. Teaching materials produced in a standard Inuktut is also perceived as a means to improve language proficiencies of students, and ensure all communities teach Inuktut at the same level. Respondents that are against standardization mentioned it is not the Inuit way, and that there is a need to respect regional and local dialects.

On the question of which dialect would be most suitable as a standard, there is no clear consensus. Most respondents generally chose their own dialect. Those that proposed the Kivalliq argued it is in the middle or central in Nunavut, while being easy to learn. For North Baffin, respondents argued it is the strongest Inuktut, more traditional, while being learned and spoken accurately today by adults and children. For

South Baffin, respondents mentioned it would be natural since the territorial capital is in Iqaluit where government is located and where most Inuit live or come to work.

On the writing system issue, respondents are somewhat divided. Less than 5 respondents out of 10 would support adopting one writing system in Nunavut. When asked which one, 69% would prefer syllabics, while 31% (including Inuktitut speakers) would prefer roman orthography. Generally, I feel there is confusion the issue of the writing systems in Nunavut. Those that preferred roman orthography commented that it would improve communications and sharing of materials between all Inuit regions, including Greenland. Those in favor of syllabics commented it is unique and a strong symbol of Inuit identity. However, those against the idea of having one writing system in Nunavut perceived it like imposing someone else's dialect. There is fear that having one writing system would negatively impact the preservation of dialects at the local or regional level.

Chapter Five

Conclusion

In this thesis my goal was to determine the attitudes Inuktut speaking teachers have towards their own and others' dialects in Nunavut and to examine to what degree they accept or resist standardization. A second goal was to explore which dialect or compromise of dialects would be best accepted as the standard written language in Nunavut.

I chose to use an online survey and invited all Inuktut speaking teachers to take part. I first thought that I would get a good response rate as the topic of standardization has been discussed at length and with passion at different levels over the last few years especially since the Nunavut Language Summit in 2010. I was disappointed with the low response of about 27%. I learned that I could possibly have managed to obtain more respondents perhaps by completing individual interviews either in person or through using the telephone. I could also have asked the principals create time(s) and space for any teacher who wished to take part in the survey.

Over the course of my upbringing, education and career as an educator and linguist I have always been very interested in learning and understanding my language and all the variants spoken across the North. In the more recent years my focus has been on understanding how the dialects vary and how the different writing systems are used among Inuit across the North including the Circumpolar regions. I also have experience in teaching students from different regions who spoke different dialects, which developed awareness of the need for a standardized writing system and the need for

standard teaching materials. This led me to want to hear directly from the teachers of Nunavut.

In asking questions about what teachers thought about their own and other's dialects, I found that intelligibility between dialectal groups indicates it is easier to understand what others are saying and to read other dialects, while writing and speaking other dialects present more of a challenge. This suggests that the respondents are more passive bidialectals through listening and reading while indicating that they have difficulty writing and speaking in other dialects. Documents written in the North Baffin, South Baffin and, to some extent Kivalliq dialects are more likely to be read by a greater number of respondents. In my analysis of subjective attitudes, North Baffin appears, overall, the preferred dialect.

In hindsight, if I had separated the Kivalliq and Aivilik dialects, I might have obtained different results. The Aivilik dialect is closer to the North Baffin dialect, whereas Kivalliq shares similarities with East and West Qitirmiut (for example use of the /h/ phoneme where Aivilik and Baffin dialects use /s/). It would be desirable for future research to separate these two dialects to gain a better understanding of their respective places in perceived intelligibility and prestige.

There are three positions emerging among respondents with respect to the idea of standardization: those who are in favor, those who oppose it and those who agree with standardization but suggest that each region should have their own standard. While about 10% of respondents are not in support of standardization for fear of losing their dialects, the majority of the Inuktut speaking teachers who responded to the survey are ready to support standardization.

The findings also show that the standardized writing system is sometimes confused with choosing a dialect as a standard. This seems to be an unresolved issue that requires attention. The issue of having one writing system needs to be clearly defined so that people are not confusing it with choosing a dialect. This is where respondents fear losing their own dialects.

Of the respondents who support a single writing system, 69% choose syllabics to be used as the writing system. They say that using syllabics is the best way to preserve their dialects. Some respondents feel that changing the writing system would mean a loss of dialects, and therefore loss of local identities. Syllabics have an important symbolic value for these respondents who note that it is unique and is attached to Inuit identity. Some comments made references to the practical use of syllabics, its learnability and how it helps students become fully proficient in their mother tongue.

Those who support a single writing system but choose roman orthography (31%) seem to be thinking more globally saying that this would allow for better communication across borders, including with the neighboring Inuit regions such as Greenland and Alaska. They say there would be an increased production and sharing of teaching materials while improving language competencies of the students, and ultimately making Inuktut the primary literacy for Inuit.

Despite efforts over time to standardize the writing systems in Nunavut, data shows that Inuit are faced with language loss to varying degrees in all the regions both in terms of language use and quality. This is a concern that teachers share. The majority of the teachers (83.6%) that say they are willing to learn another dialect if it would mean that the language stays strong. This shows that there is a commitment to not losing the

language to a degree that they are willing to compromise and learn another dialect as with the example we saw from Yup'ik professor Walkie Charles.

In the literature review we saw that standardization can be an important tool to support language survival, particularly by expanding its use in new domains such as in formal education, government and other non-traditional fields such as in science, law and medicine. The teachers who are in agreement with having a standard for teaching materials (66.1%) are saying that this will help increase the use and strength of the language and enable them to teach at the same high quality standard level in all the communities.

Inuktut and its dialects have been well described and studied over the past fifty years and in Nunavut there is a well-established dual writing system. However, a consensus has not been reached on a dialect or a combination of dialects to be used for standard written materials. When asked if teachers are willing to choose a dialect as a standard to use for teaching materials, North Baffin dialect was the top choice with comments that speakers of this dialect use the language very well having some of the strongest speakers including children who are learning and speaking the language. The recognition of the North Baffin dialect may also be because there are already a lot of teaching and reading materials produced in this dialect from when the Baffin Divisional Board of Education and the Teaching and Learning Center were producing teaching material mostly in this dialect before the creation of Nunavut.

Nunavut now represents a unique opportunity to demonstrate leadership on language issues. The territory has important tools to utilize including the language and education legislation, an established school system, and a new Inuit Language Authority. Nunavut can use these tools to maintain and reverse language shift and revitalize the

spoken dialects, in part through pursuing standardization and community education about what standardization will mean.

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Appendix A Questionnaire

1. In or near which community did you grow up?
2. In which community do you currently live?
3. What is your gender?
    - Female
    - Male

4. What is your role in the school?
    - Teacher
    - Language Instructor
    - Classroom assistant
    - Principal
    - Other (please specify)

5. How long have you been working in schools?
    - 0-2 years
    - 3-5 years
    - 6-10 years
    - 11-15 years
    - More than 15 years

6. What is your age?
    - 18 to 24
    - 25 to 34
    - 35 to 44
    - 45 to 54
    - 55 to 64
    - 65 to 74
    - 75 or older

7. What is the highest level of education you have completed?
    - Less than high school
    - High school diploma or equivalent
    - Some college
    - College diploma
    - Some university
    - University degree
    - Some master courses
    - Master degree
    - PhD
    - No answer

8. Indicate which regional variant(s) or dialect(s) of Inuktut you first learned and still can speak today?
    - West Qitirmiut (Cambridge Bay, Kugluktuk)
    - East Qitirmiut (Gjoa Haven, Kuugaruk, Taloyoak)

- Kivalliq (Arviat, Baker Lake, Chesterfield Inlet, Rankin Inlet, Repulse Bay, Whale Cove)
- North Baffin (Grise Fiord, Resolute Bay, Arctic Bay, Hall Beach, Igloolik, Pond Inlet, Clyde River)
- South Baffin (Clyde River, Qikiqtarjuaq, Iqaluit, Kimmirut, Pangnirtung, Cape Dorset)
- Nunavik (Grise Fiord, Resolute Bay, Sanikiluaq)
- Other (please specify)

9. How close would you consider the following regional variants or dialects to your own?

	Very close	Close	Fairly close	Not very close	Not close at all
West Qitirmiut					
East Qitirmiut					
Kivalliq					
North Baffin					
South Baffin					
Nunavik					

The following questions will help you self-assess your fluency in your mother tongue and the regional variants or dialects of Inuktut for the following language skills:

- Speaking (i.e. the ability to convey meaning to others through speech)
- Listening (i.e. the ability of the listener to understand what others are saying)
- Reading (i.e. the ability to understand what other have written)
- Writing (i.e. the ability to convey meaning to others in writing)

In order to records your responses, respondents are asked to place themselves in one of the following proficiency categories:

- Very well (I can talk/understand/read/write about almost anything in Inuktut)
- Well (I can talk/understand/read/write about many things in Inuktut)
- Fairly well (I can talk/understand/read/write about some things in Inuktut)
- Not very well (I can only talk/understand/read/write about simple/basic things in Inuktut)
- No more than a few words or phrases

10. How well are you able to speak, listen, read and write in your most dominant dialect?

	Very well	Well	Fairly well	Not very well	No more than a few words or phrases

Speaking					
Listening					
Reading					
Writing					

11. How well are you able to understand what others are saying in the following regional variants or dialects of Inuktut?

	Very well	Well	Fairly well	Not very well	No more than a few words or phrases
West Qitirmiut					
East Qitirmiut					
Kivalliq					
North Baffin					
South Baffin					
Nunavik					

12. How well are you able to speak any of the following regional variants of dialects of Inuktut?

	Very well	Well	Fairly well	Not very well	No more than a few words or phrases
West Qitirmiut					
East Qitirmiut					
Kivalliq					
North Baffin					
South Baffin					
Nunavik					

13. How well are you able to read and understand what others have written in the following regional variants or dialects of Inuktut?

	Very well	Well	Fairly well	Not very well	No more than a few words or phrases
West Qitirmiut					
East Qitirmiut					
Kivalliq					
North Baffin					
South Baffin					
Nunavik					

14. How well are you able to write in the following regional variants or dialects of Inuktut?

	Very well	Well	Fairly well	Not very well	No more than a few words or phrases
West Qitirmiut					
East Qitirmiut					
Kivalliq					
North Baffin					
South Baffin					
Nunavik					

15. In your experience, which regional variant or dialect of Inuktut do you believe is used most prominently in the following?
(One possible answer: West Qitirmiut, East Qitirmiut, Kivalliq, North Baffin, South Baffin, Nunavik)

- Community gatherings
- Church
- Local radio
- Workplace
- CBC radio
- Newspaper
- Television
- School books
- Government publications
- Exterior signs
- Advertising
- Internet

16. Please rank your interest in learning the following regional variants or dialects of Inuktut (1 - most interested; 8 - least interested). Please select a number for each dialect until all dialects appear listed in the order in which you would like to learn them.

- West Qitirmiut
- East Qitirmiut
- Kivalliq
- North Baffin
- South Baffin
- Nunavik
- Greenlandic
- Inupiaq (Alaska)

17. Please rank your interest in having your child(ren) and/or school child(ren) learn the following regional variants or dialects of Inuktut (1 - most interested; 8 - least

interested). Please select a number for each dialect until all dialects appear listed in the order in which you are interested in your children and/or school children learning them.

- West Qitirmiut
- East Qitirmiut
- Kivalliq
- North Baffin
- South Baffin
- Nunavik
- Greenlandic
- Inupiaq (Alaska)

18. Please rank how pleasant you find listening to each of the following regional variants or dialects of Inuktut (1 - most pleasant; 6 - least pleasant). Please select a number for each dialect until all dialects appear in the order to which you find them pleasant.

- West Qitirmiut
- East Qitirmiut
- Kivalliq
- North Baffin
- South Baffin
- Nunavik

19. In which region do people speak the best Inuktut, in your opinion? Please select a number for each dialect until all dialects appear listed with the "Best" Inuktut on top.

- West Qitirmiut
- East Qitirmiut
- Kivalliq
- North Baffin
- South Baffin
- Nunavik

20. When others have a different regional variant or dialect than yours, how much Inuktut do you speak with them?
(One possible answer: All Inuktut, Mostly Inuktut, Inuktut equally with English, Some Inuktut, No Inuktut, Never had the opportunity)

- West Qitirmiut
- East Qitirmiut
- Kivalliq
- North Baffin
- South Baffin
- Nunavik

21. Which version of a bilingual Inuktut/English document do you read most often?

- Always Inuktut
- Mostly Inuktut
- Inuktut equally with English
- Mostly English
- Always English

Please Explain : _____

22. How often do you read a document written in any of the following regional variants or dialects of Inuktut?
(One possible answer: Every time, Most times, Sometimes, Rarely, Never, Never had the opportunity)

- West Qitirmiut
- East Qitirmiut
- Kivalliq
- North Baffin
- South Baffin
- Nunavik

23. To what extent do you agree with the following statement: "I am willing to learn another dialect if it meant that the Inuit Language would stay strong".

- Strongly agree
- Agree
- Neither agree or disagree
- Disagree
- Strongly disagree

24. To what extent do you agree with the following statement: "I would rather speak English than speak in a different regional variant or dialect of Inuktut".

- Strongly agree
- Agree
- Neither agree or disagree
- Disagree
- Strongly disagree
- Don't know

25. To what extent do you agree with choosing a standard regional variant or dialect of Inuktut for teaching materials in Nunavut?

- Strongly agree
- Agree
- Neither agree or disagree
- Disagree
- Strongly disagree

Please Explain : _____

26. In your opinion, which regional variant or dialect would be most suitable for language of instruction and material development for schools in Nunavut?

- West Qitirmiut
- East Qitirmiut
- Kivalliq
- North Baffin
- South Baffin
- Nunavik

- None

Please Explain : _____

27. To what extent do you agree that eventually there should be only one writing system in Nunavut?

- Strongly agree
- Agree
- Neither agree or disagree
- Disagree
- Strongly disagree
- Don't know

If you agree, please indicate either Syllabics or Roman orthography : _____

28. If the Government of Nunavut was directed to use one writing system, which would you prefer?

- Syllabics
- Roman

29. To what extent do you agree to use the term "Inuktut" to designate all regional variants or dialects in Nunavut?

- Strongly agree
- Agree
- Neither agree or disagree
- Disagree
- Strongly disagree
- Don't know

30. Please feel free to add any other comments or thoughts you may have on standardization of Inuktut and the dialectal diversity of our language in Nunavut.

Thank you very much for taking the time to fill out the survey. I look forward to sharing the results once I have received the responses from other participant across Nunavut schools and have completed the analysis of the results.

Appendix B Invitation Letters

Jeela Palluq-Cloutier
Box 11461
Iqaluit, NU
X0A 1H0
867-975-5548

February 11, 2013.

Principal
All Schools in Nunavut
All Communities

Survey on dialectal attitudes of the Inuktut teachers of Nunavut

Dear Principal,

I would like to ask you to invite your Inuktut speaking teachers to take part in my research through a survey.

This research is designed to determine the attitudes of Inuit teachers about dialectal differences in Nunavut. It will be conducted using an online survey called SurveyMonkey with a questionnaire, consisting of 30 questions that can be completed between 15 to 20 minutes. The research will be conducted with Inuktut speaking teachers across Nunavut. All Inuktut speaking teachers from every community are invited to take part. The outcomes of the research will be used as a tool to understand which dialect might be most easily used, understood and accepted by the teachers of the seven major dialects we presently have in Nunavut.

Please let your teachers know that you, as the principal, are merely passing this information on to Inuit teachers on my behalf and that you have no involvement in this matter. And please, if you are an Inuk principal you are also invited to take part in the survey and you may pass on this invitation to your Inuk co or vice principal.

This survey has been approved by the Nunavut Research Institute and supported by the Department of Education in Nunavut.

Thank you most sincerely,

Jeela Palluq-Cloutier
MEd student University of Prince Edward Island

Jeela Palluq-Cloutier
Box 11461
Iqaluit, NU
X0A 1H0

February 11, 2013.

Inuktut Teacher
All Schools in Nunavut
All Communities

Survey on dialectal attitudes of the teachers in Nunavut

Dear Teacher:

I am hoping you agree to take time out of your busy schedule to participate in a very important research on *The dialectal attitudes of Inuktut teachers in Nunavut.*

The purpose of this web-based survey is to understand school teachers' attitudes and understandings of the seven major dialects we have in Nunavut. All Inuktut teachers from every community are invited to take part. The survey is through an online survey written in English. The questions will ask about dialects teachers speak and other dialects, if any, they speak or understand. The survey also asks which writing system teachers are comfortable using and which language/dialect they prefer to read at home and at work. Teachers will also be asked about other language attitudes affecting the relative acceptability of various dialects as a chosen standard. Your input is vital!

Your responses will be strictly confidential and the data from this research will be reported only in the aggregate. Your information will be coded and will remain confidential.

Your participation is entirely voluntary, and your contributions will be used anonymously. You may withdraw at any time should you choose to. Completing the survey, consisting of 30 questions, can take between 15 to 20 minutes and will be done online using a survey tool called SurveyMonkey which will remain open until February 22, 2013. All data in paper form will be shredded and all electronic data will be deleted and removed completely from any hard drive or any other electronic storage instrument a year after the completion of this study.

The outcome of the survey will be important to the orthography committee at Inuit Uqausinginnik Taiguusiliuqtiit, the Inuit Language Authority in Nunavut. This committee will be looking at standardizing Inuktut writing for the territory.

This survey has been approved by the Nunavut Research Institute and supported by the Department of Education in Nunavut.

If you would like to receive more information about the study, please contact me at jpalluq-cloutier@gov.nu.ca or at 867-975-5548. You could also contact the UPEI Research ethics Board at (902) 620-5104, or by email at lcmacdougall@upei.ca should you have any concerns about the ethical conduct of this study.

Please consider participating and let your voice be heard! You may log on to the survey by clicking on this link in your e-mail. https://www.surveymonkey.com/s/inuktut-dialectal-attitudes

Thank you!

Jeela Palluq-Cloutier
MEd student University of Prince Edward Island

Appendix C NRI Certificate

Nunavummi Qaujisaqtulirijikkut / Nunavut Research Institute
Box 1720, Iqaluit, NU X0A 0H0 phone:(867) 979-7279 fax: (867) 979-7109 e-mail: mosha.cole@arcticcollege.ca

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ISSUED TO: Jeela Palluq-Cloutier
University of Prince Edward Island
PO Box 11461
Iqaluit, Nunavut
X0A 1H0 Canada
867 975 5548

TEAM MEMBERS: J.P-Cloutier,F.Walton,M.Turnbull

AFFILIATION:

TITLE: Standardization of Inuktitut in Nunavut

OBJECTIVES OF RESEARCH:
My research project is on the standardization of Inuktitut in Nunavut.Inuktitut speaking teachers across the territory will be invited to participate in a study through a questionnaire.This questionnaire will look to find out what the attitudes of the teacher are on the dialectual differences in Nunavut.It will also be a tool to understanding what dialect is most easily accepted by the teachers of the seven major dialects we have in Nunavut.The outcome of the survey will be important to the orthography committee at Inuit Uqausinginnik Taiguusiliuqtiit,the Inuit Language Authority in Nunavut. This committee will be looking at standardizing Inuktitut writing for the territory.This will also be important for the Government of Nunavut,the curriculum division within the Education Department.

TERMS & CONDITIONS:

DATA COLLECTION IN NU:
DATES: November 01, 2012-September 01, 2013
LOCATION: All Communitites

Scientific Research License 01 033 12N-M expires on June 30, 2013
Issued at Iqaluit, NU on December 20, 2012

[redacted]
Mary Ellen Thomas
Science Advisor